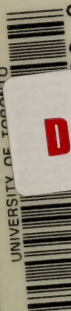


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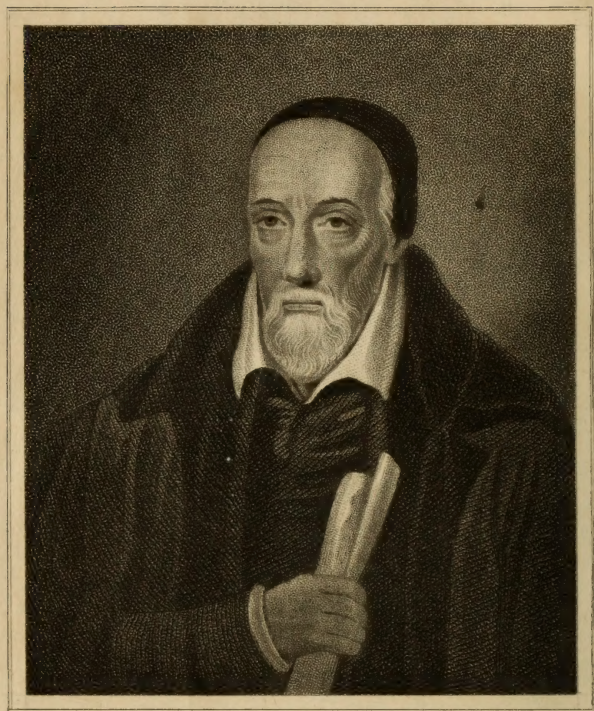


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GEORGE BUCHANAN,

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THE
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THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN

OF
GEORGE BUCHANAN;

WITH

NOTES,

AND

A CONTINUATION TO THE UNION IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

By **JAMES AIKMAN, Esq.**

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

GLASGOW:

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ADDRESS.

THE fate of Scottish History has been peculiarly unfortunate; first the destruction of our most Ancient records by Edward I., and next, the political seizure of the remainder made under the Protectorate of Cromwell, when almost all our Authentic Documents were carried to England, and afterwards upon the restoration of Charles II., shipwrecked and lost on their return to their own country, have exposed the earlier period of our Monarchy to the jest of the wit, and the scepticism of the more judicious inquirer. In consequence, our original Historians, who wrote before the last and most destructive calamity that befell our literature, and who had access to documents which no longer exist, have been accused of credulity, and a love of fable, which modern investigation of the collateral proof afforded by cotemporary historians of other nations, tends in a great measure to remove.

It were vain to expect for Scotland, what no other people on earth ever possessed,—a clear and succinct account of their transactions during the ages, in which, they progressed from barbarism to civilization; but it would, indeed, have been strange if no memorial had existed of that period, in the history of a people who have ever been famed for their military genius, and spirit of enterprise. Buchanan, who had access to materials, the loss of which we must now deplore, embodied in his history all the information which the state papers of his country could afford; from his facilities as a Privy Counsellor, and as Tutor to the King, and as the first literary character, the *facile princeps* of his age, he possessed advantages which no subsequent writer could hope to possess; and his stern integrity, and undoubted veracity as a man, demand our assent to the truth of *that* which he vouches for, as an historian. The transcendent excellence of Buchanan's virtues, was the theme of unqualified praise to his cotemporary friends and admirers; when his private character reflected lustre on a genius which commanded reverence in an age of genius. The eloquence of our Historian is, indeed, extolled even higher by his enemies than his friends, perhaps as some atonement to his mighty

shade for their attempts to detract from his moral worth; his history has not, however, yet appeared in a dress at all calculated to communicate to general readers, or to his countrymen, any idea of a work which excited the admiration of Europe upon its first appearance, and still is esteemed one of the finest monuments of modern literature. The present translator dares not avow how much he has come short of his own ideas of excellence, but, he believes he may venture to affirm, that he presents to the public, the best English version of this work, ever yet laid before them. In the Notes which he has added, the Scottish Reader will probably not be less surprised than pleased, to find numerous facts and circumstances collected, as corroborative of some of the leading events in the reigns of some of the earliest of our monarchs, which prove, that by foreign historians, who lived near their time, they were not deemed fabulous personages.

It would ill become an Author to speak of his own performance; the public voice must stamp its character; but the writer of the Continuation of Buchanan, may be permitted to say, that he is unacquainted with any History of Scotland, which, in his estimation, treats of the affairs of his country since the reformation, in a style calculated to convey an accurate view of the spirit or manners of the people, or of the nature of the events, or the tremendous struggle and sufferings which Scottishmen endured before they established the rights and liberties which their posterity enjoy; but, who are yet to learn the immense cost at which they were purchased. He therefore has endeavoured to give an impartial and a succinct account of this most important period of Scottish History; and, while he cannot, and would not if he could, repress the indignation natural to an ingenuous mind, in recording the wanton barbarity of unlicensed power; he has, he hopes, in attempting to rescue the persecuted from obloquy, not forgotten that even tyrants have a right to justice.

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THE LIFE

OF

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born about the beginning of February, in the year one thousand five hundred and six, in the parish of Killearn, and county of Stirling, then forming part of Levenox or Lennoxshire. He descended from the ancient family of the Buchanans, but the branch from which he immediately sprung was not opulent. His father was Thomas, the second son of Thomas Buchanan of Drummikill, and his mother Agnes Heriot, of the family of Trabroun in East Lothian. His parents possessed the farm of Mid-Leowen, or the moss on the western bank of the water of Blane, said to have been a grant from Drummikill, where George first saw the light. The house in which he was born has in the lapse of time long since gone to decay, but reverence for his genius has preserved in the present building, the form, and even some of the materials, of the original cottage.

Buchanan's father died of the stone, in the flower of his age, leaving his widow with eight children, five sons and three daughters, in a state of extreme indi-

gence, for the grandfather, although alive, was bankrupt. His mother, who appears to have continued to superintend the farm after the death of her husband, by her industry and management supported her children till they arrived at maturity, and all of them, of whom any thing is known, rewarded her maternal care, by the respectable situations they afterwards filled in society.

George, the third son, who has rendered the family illustrious, is reported by tradition, to have received the rudiments of his education in the public school of Killearn, and afterwards to have been removed to the school of Dunbarton, where his promising abilities having attracted the attention of his maternal uncle, James Heriot, he generously enabled him to pursue the bent of his genius, and sent him, when about fourteen years of age, to prosecute his studies at the university of Paris.

During his residence at that celebrated seminary, he first began to display his poetical talents. The students were prescribed exercises in verse, and his inclination coinciding with the nature of his task, he appears to have arrived early at excellence. But his future prospects, and to young and poetical imaginations these are ever flattering, were overcast, almost at their dawning. His friend and patron, his uncle, died, ere he had passed two years at college, and, his resources being thus cut off, he suddenly found himself in a foreign land, exposed to all the horrors of poverty, aggravated by severe bodily indisposition.

Before two years had expired, he was forced to return to his native country, and devote his attention to the care of his health. When sufficiently recovered to

undergo the fatigues of war, his desire to become acquainted with the art, induced him to join the French auxiliaries, who had arrived in Scotland under the Duke of Albany; and he marched with them against England, in the end of the year 1523. This fruitless expedition terminated in an abortive attack upon Werk Castle, from which the assailants were repulsed; and their army, compelled to repass the Tweed, retreated towards Lauder, by a nocturnal march, during a severe snow storm. The fatigues of a winter campaign occasioned a relapse in his disorder, and during the remainder of the season, Buchanan was confined to bed.

Early next spring, he was sent to St. Andrews, for the purpose of attending the lectures of John Mair, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who then taught in the seminary, afterwards St. Mary's college, a logic ill suited to the masculine mind of Buchanan, and which he designates as rather a kind of sophistry. In the summer, he followed Mair to Paris, having attended only one course of his Dialectics, and, from the manner in which he mentions them, evidently with little either of pleasure or improvement. During his attendance at St. Andrews, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, 3d October, 1525, and from the faculty register it appears, that he was then a pauper or exhibitioner.

When he returned to France, 1527, upon proof of his being made Bachelor of Arts in the university of St. Andrews, he was, according to the privileges our universities enjoyed in these times in Paris, admitted to the same degree in that university; and in April, 1528, he took the higher degree of A. M. In June, 1529, or 1530, he was elected procurator for the German nation,

one of the four classes into which the students were divided, and which included those from Scotland.

At this time, the principles of the Reformation were widely extended, and eagerly discussed on the continent. In France they had acquired many adherents, and, among others at the university, Buchanan imbibed a rational predilection for the tenets of Luther, but with the caution, perhaps prudence, of a scholar, he did not immediately renounce the established religion of Christendom, or decidedly join the standard of those whose opinions his better judgment inclined him to approve. He continued to struggle with adverse fortune, for nearly two years, about the end of which, he was appointed a professor in the college of St. Barbe, where he taught grammar three years, and, notwithstanding the inadequate remuneration, and the miseries to which Parisian professors of Humanity were then exposed, he mentions this situation as one of at least comparative comfort.

During this period, he contracted an acquaintance with Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, a young Scottish nobleman, who resided in the neighbourhood, and who, being delighted with his genius and conversation, retained him as his preceptor. To him, as “a youth of the most promising talents, and excellent disposition,” Buchanan inscribed his first work, a translation of Linacre’s rudiments of the Latin language, printed by R. Stephanus, 1533. After being two years in the Earl’s family, he returned with him to Scotland, 1537.

While at home, during his leisure he composed a small satirical poem, *Somnium*, or the Dream, in which he exposes the absurdity of a monastic life, and the hypocrisy of the monks, particularly those of the order of

St. Francis. In consequence, he incurred the displeasure of the fraternity, and, aware of the implacability of ecclesiastical resentment, he determined to resume his former occupations in France, but king James V. retained him as preceptor to his natural son, James Stuart—not the regent—who died in 1548.

The irritation of the ghostly fathers, exasperated by the royal favour which the poet received, was as active as it was malignant; and, as the holy brotherhood durst not assign the true reason of their hatred, they had recourse to the usual pretext of an interested, careless, and hypocritical priesthood—they represented the exposition of their own immoralities as a blow struck at religion itself. Their zeal, however, in the first instance, recoiled upon themselves, the king, whom they endeavoured to influence, was unfriendly, and his young queen, Magdalene, who had been educated under the care of her aunt, the queen of Navarre, was on the side of the Protestants. Her death, which soon followed, destroyed this auxiliary, but James, suspecting the priests to have been concerned in a conspiracy, which some of his nobles had formed against his life, became more alienated from them; instead, therefore, of punishing the poet, he encouraged his private animosity, and one day, when Buchanan happened accidentally to be at court, he enjoined him, in the presence of several of his courtiers, to renew his attack upon the Franciscans.

Buchanan, who knew the inveteracy, and dreaded the power of the clergy, at the same time while he desired to gratify the wish of the king, produced an ambiguous poem, by which he hoped to please both parties. He experienced, however, the common fate of trimmers in times of public dissension—he pleased neither. James,

himself a poet, did not think it sufficiently keen, and the friars, who winced at the slightest touch, became more exasperated. In these circumstances, being ordered by the king to write a satire that might be felt, and perceiving how vain it was to attempt conciliating his enemies, he gave full scope to his indignation, and in a strain of the most eloquent invective, lashed without reserve, their vilenesses and impurities in a poem, which he afterward published, under the title of *Franciscanus*—The Franciscan.

The detestable crimes, and the enormous profligacy which necessarily originate, and must always prevail among a numerous body of high fed, indolent men, intrusted with the secret thoughts, the sinful wanderings, or the wild imaginations of all the females in a land, from the first dawning of womanhood to their latest breath, which no progress in knowledge, and no state of society will ever eradicate, so long as an unmarried priesthood, and private confession exist, were then perpetrated in Scotland with an unblushing effrontery, the recital of which disgusts, though veiled in the decencies of a dead language. But what the friars dared to perpetrate, it was death to expose. The horrible system, which, under the name of religion, found access to the chambers, and violated all the sanctities of connubial enjoyment, trembled at the light of reason and of Scripture; and when the torch of genius blazoned the foul deeds of the vilest tyranny that ever inthrallled the souls and the bodies of men, the wretches naturally sought refuge from its excruciating lustre, by attempting to extinguish the sacred fire that tormented them.

Buchanan gave the king a copy of the rough sketch of his satire, but, although James was amused at the priests

being held up to ridicule, and encouraged it both in Buchanan and Lindsay, like his uncle Henry VIII., he was too sensual to be sincerely attached to the principles of the reformation, and too avaricious to withstand the bribes which the clergy offered him; he therefore, was easily induced to concur in the persecution which they raised against Lutheranism, and had not even the generosity to protect the tutor of his son, from the vengeance of those men against whom his wit had been directed by his own orders. Buchanan was included in a general arrest, and thrown into prison, but, notwithstanding the eager animosity with which he was pursued, Cardinal Beaton even offering money for his blood, he contrived before trial, to escape through the window of the apartment in which he was confined, while his keepers were asleep.

Bending his steps southward, he was exposed to the attacks of the Border thieves, and the contagion of a pestilential disease, which then raged in the North of England, but happily escaped both perils, and reached London in safety.

In that city he was kindly received by Sir John Rainsford, who protected him from the Papists, and to whose memory he has gratefully inscribed a small poem. His stay was short. He found no patrons, and the situation of the country, exposed to the wanton and capricious tyranny of an unprincipled despot, possessed little attraction to a fugitive, exiled for his attachment to the cause of freedom. France was more inviting. The superior civilization of Paris, and the numerous literary friendships he had formed there, induced him to return to that capital; but on his arrival, [1539], he found his inveterate enemy, Cardinal Beaton, resident

ambassador. Fortunately, however, an opportunity speedily occurred for withdrawing from the immediate reach of his arm.

The college of Guienne had been lately founded in the city of Bourdeaux, and Andrew Govean, a Portuguese, appointed principal. On his invitation, Buchanan removed thither, and was nominated professor of the Latin language. At this college it was the custom to have dramatic entertainments represented annually by the students; these usually consisted of some absurd and grotesque mystery, or allegory, in which the most affecting scenes of our Saviour's life and sufferings were caricatured, and rendered ridiculous by a revolting mixture of the wildest and most extravagant fancies; or in which the Passions, ludicrously personified, delivered some inane declamation, ornamented by a string of puerile conceits. To correct this vitiated taste, and, if possible, awaken a relish for the chaste simplicity of the ancients, Buchanan composed his *Baptistes*, a drama from Scripture history, after the model of the Greek tragedy. He next produced, for the academical stage, a translation of the *Medea* of Euripides, his favourite author; and these two having been received with an applause which far exceeded his expectation, he afterwards wrote *Jephthes*, and translated *Alcestis*, another tragedy from Euripides, the whole four having been composed within three years, amid the labours of his professional duties, and the distractions produced by the unwearied enmity of Cardinal Beaton, and the Franciscans, who still threatened his life. The cardinal, at one time, sent a letter to the bishop of Bourdeaux, requesting him to secure the person of the heretical poet; but having

intrusted its delivery to some one of Buchanan's friends, his intention was frustrated.

The death of James V., which followed, [1542,] gave full employment to the cardinal in political intrigue at home, and the appearance of a dreadful plague in Guienne, rescued Buchanan from farther apprehensions. The *Baptistes*, which, though written first, was last published, is strongly marked by the sentiments and feelings of the author, ardent in his attachment to liberty, and suffering for its sake; it abounds in bold declamation against tyranny and priestcraft. In dramatic interest, it is, however, inferior to his *Jephthes*—a story involving the operation of the highest and most agonizing passions of the human mind, under circumstances the most excruciating. The translations were so exquisitely finished, that when the *Medea* was first printed, it was rumoured the author had discovered some ancient MS., and published it as his own. His poetical efforts were not, however, confined to the drama; among his occasional pieces, he addressed one to Francis Olivier, chancellor of France, in behalf of his college, which produced the desired effect; and he afterward, in an elegant ode, commemorates the promptitude and liberality of their patron. He, likewise, addressed a sapphic ode to the youth of Bourdeaux, reminding them of the dignity, and recommending the importance of attending to the liberal arts, particularly that which he had himself cultivated with such eminent success; nor were his recommendations vain.

The excellence of the teachers, and the assiduity of the scholars, soon rendered the college of Guienne, one of the most distinguished schools in France. Among the number of those who boasted of being his pupils

at this seminary, was the celebrated Montagne, who frequently performed in the college dramas.

In Bourdeaux, Buchanan was admired and respected by his fellow professors, and his acquaintance eagerly cultivated by all the friends of literature in that city and its vicinity. Among these, the eldest Scaliger, who was practising as a physician at Agen, deserves to be particularized, for his uncommon erudition, and the reciprocal attachment which subsisted between him and Buchanan. At his house, a number of accomplished scholars were accustomed to spend part of the autumnal vacation, and in their conversation, this singular character forgot the tortures of the gout, and even his natural love of contradiction. The younger Scaliger, more illustrious than his father, inherited his admiration of the Scottish poet.

From Bourdeaux, Buchanan returned to Paris, and officiated as a regent in the college of Cardinal le Maire, till 1547. How long he enjoyed this office is uncertain. In an elegy, composed during his residence, he complains of being severely afflicted with the gout, and gratefully acknowledges the medical aid he had received from Carolus Stephanus, a doctor of physic, a scholar and printer, and who belonged to a family which furnished several other learned typographers. His associates, in his new situation, were worthy of him; and, it has been remarked, that three of the most learned men in the world, then taught humanity in the same college—Turnebus, Buchanan, and Muretus.

In the year 1547, he proceeded to Portugal.

The university of Coimbra had been founded by John III., who educated, in France, at his own charge, three brothers, Goveans. Andrew, the friend of Buchanan,

one of the brothers, who had been principal of St. Barbe, rector of the university of Paris, and latterly superintended the college of Guienne, was now invited, by his sovereign, to accept the principalship of his new university, and, as his native country could not supply competent professors, to bring persons qualified for the office along with him. He communicated the proposal to Buchanan, who, as the affairs of Europe threatened a crisis, and Portugal seemed the only corner which promised repose, not only cheerfully acceded himself, but persuaded his brother Patrick to join this expedition. He mentions, among his companions with whom he had been in habits of intimate friendship, and who had distinguished themselves in the literary world by their writings, Gruchius, known by several learned works on Roman antiquities; Garentaeus, a commentator on Aristotle, and a Latin dramatic poet; Tevius, author of an historical work on the Portuguese transactions in India, orations in Portuguese, and some Latin poems; and Vinetus, who, besides some original works, edited several ancient writers.

The happiness which Buchanan had promised himself, in a society so congenial to his taste, was but short-lived. Govean, the head of the institution, died ere a year had elapsed; and, deprived of his protection, the literary foreigners were exposed to all the little petty jealousies of the natives, and all the unrelenting bigotry of the priests. They were assailed at first by secret calumny, and afterwards accused of imaginary crimes. Three of their number were thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition, and after a tedious and loathsome imprisonment, were brought before that execrable tribunal, where they underwent an examination, or rather

were exposed to the reproaches of the judges, for several days, without being confronted with their accusers; and then, unconvicted of any crime, they were remanded to their dismal confinement.

The fame of Buchanan's superior genius, attracted a superior degree of enmity from the partisans of a church whose stability depends on the ignorance of her adherents; besides, he was a stranger, and friendless. He was accused of having written a poem against the Franciscans, of the nature of which his accusers knew nothing, as the only copy he had ever parted with, was the one he had given to James V., and, before he left France, he had explained the circumstances under which it was composed to the Portuguese monarch. He was also charged with having eaten flesh in Lent, though the practice was universal in Portugal; of having alleged in conversation, that the opinion of St. Augustine, respecting the eucharist, appeared to him agreeable to that which the church of Rome condemned; and two witnesses made a formal deposition of their having been assured, by several respectable persons, that Buchanan was disaffected to the Romish faith. These informers, he afterwards discovered, were Jean Tulpin, a doctor of theology, a native of Normandy, and Joannes Ferrerius, a Piedmontese, who had visited Scotland, and resided at Kinloss, author of a continuation of Boece's History of Scotland.

After the Inquisitors had tormented and worn out both Buchanan and themselves for nearly a year and a half, in order to justify their proceedings against a scholar of such celebrity, they sentenced him to be confined to a monastery for some months, and more thoroughly instructed by the monks, men not altogether

destitute of humanity, or abandoned in morals, but totally unacquainted with any thing like religion. In this confinement, he consoled himself with sacred poetry, and to the vexatious treatment of his persecutors, we owe that unrivalled Paraphrase of the Psalms of David, which placed him first among modern Latin poets, and will continue to be read with delight, as long as the language in which they are written is understood. The common story, that this work was imposed upon him as a penance, originated solely in the noble use he made of the time, which, in such retreats, is wont to be spent in indolent devotion, or the more pernicious activity of a wild imagination.

At length he was restored to his liberty, and apparently with some testimonials in his favour by the monks; for when he solicited the king's permission to return to France, he was requested by him to remain, and presented with a small sum of money for his present support, till some honourable situation could be provided. Tired, however, with waiting, and the promises of the king of Portugal being very uncertain, he embarked on board a Candian vessel lying at the Port of Lisbon, and sailed for England.

On his arrival there, he found a young prince upon the throne, Edward VI., and the nation distracted by party contention; his stay was, in consequence, short, though advantageous offers were made to induce him to prolong it, and he proceeded to France, where he arrived about the time the siege of the city of Metz was raised, early in the year 1553, on which he reluctantly composed a poem, at the urgent request of his friends, as several other poets of his acquaintance had previously celebrated that achievement.

To the French, at this period of his life, Buchanan was much attached, and they, with their characteristic vanity, wished to appropriate as their own, a poet, the splendour of whose reputation shed a glory round the country to which his name was associated. The warmth of his attachment, he expressed in a poem, *Adventus in Galliam*, which he wrote about this time.

Soon after his return to Paris, he was appointed a regent in the college of Boncourt. In the year 1555, he became preceptor to Timoleon de Cosse, son of the celebrated Marshal Count de Brissac, who then governed the French dominions in Italy, whither Buchanan was invited to attend his pupil, and with whom he resided for five years occasionally there and in France. The marshal, like the most eminent heroes of antiquity, cultivated the liberal arts amid the din of arms, and, in the camp itself, enjoyed the society of learned men; and Buchanan, who in a college had nothing of the pedagogue but the cap, was an honoured guest, not only at his table, but was even called upon to assist at the deliberations of his military council. His introduction originated in the following circumstance:—He happened to enter an apartment contiguous to the hall in which the marshal and his officers were engaged in discussing some measure of great importance, and on being arrested by their debates, he could not refrain from murmuring his disapprobation of the opinion supported by the majority. One of the generals smiled at this intrusion, but the marshal having invited Buchanan into the council, and enjoined him to deliver his sentiments without restraint, he explained his reasons of dissent with a perspicuity which amazed both Brissac and his officers, and in the issue, his suggestions were

found to have been oracular. His pupil did credit both to the discernment of his father, and the care of his preceptor; his literary attainments were respectable, and he closed a brilliant career by a soldier's death, at the early age of twenty-six, before the walls of Mucidan.

His philosophical poem, *De Sphæra*, which he left unfinished, was probably commenced about this time, as it is addressed to his interesting pupil, but his chief attention, he tells us himself, was directed to the study of Theology, to enable him to decide upon the controversies which then agitated Christendom. He had early perceived the absurdities of the Roman Catholic religion; the ignorance and immorality of its priesthood, had furnished him with rich topics of vehement satirical castigation, and the persecution he had endured, he candidly avows, strengthened his estrangement from the cause, but a mind like his was incapable of resting satisfied with superficial inquiry on a subject of such vital importance. He, therefore, deliberately examined the grounds of his faith, and the consequence was, a firm conviction of the truth of the doctrine of the reformers, and, on his return to his own country, an open profession of adherence to the communion of the Church of Scotland. The date of his return is not exactly ascertained, but his connexion with the family of Brissac terminated in 1560, when the civil war had already commenced in France, and the friends of civil and religious liberty had triumphed in Scotland.

While last in France, several of his poetical works were finished. In 1553, he addressed an ode to the Count de Brissac, after the capture of Vircelli: and on the 28th July, 1554, he dedicated to the same nobleman, his tragedy of *Jephthes*. In 1556, the first speci-

men of his Psalms appeared ; and, in 1557, his translation of the *Alcestes* of Euripides, inscribed to Margaret, daughter of Francis I. a munificent protectoress of literature, afterwards married to the Duke of Savoy. In 1558, he celebrated the surrender of Calais in an ode.

Buchanan, while in France, had courted, by an *Epithalamium* on her marriage with Francis, the notice of Mary, his lovely and accomplished Queen, ere yet her sky was overcast, and when not a speck on her most distant horizon portended the future storms which were to overwhelm her. At her return to Scotland on the death of her husband, during the few first months, when her government was intrusted to the wisest privy council, perhaps, ever Scotland saw, composed of men at that time sincerely devoted to her service, and whom common prudence might have attached to her for ever, she chose the Poet to assist her in her classical studies, and every afternoon was accustomed to read along with him a portion of *Livy*.

The condescensions of royalty win upon the sturdiest, and aided by the fascinating and elegant manners of a beautiful princess, in the full bloom and freshness of youth, it was no wonder that his young sovereign became an object of ardent admiration to Buchanan. This he expressed in the dedication of his Psalms, a poetical tribute, equally admired for the charms of its versification, and the delicacy of the compliment it conveys. The first complete edition of the Psalms, to which this was affixed, was published without a date, but it must have been soon after Mary arrived in Scotland, and before she had forfeited the esteem of her friends by her misconduct. She rewarded her tutor for his services, by conferring upon him the temporalities

of Crossragwell Abbey, 1564, vacant by the decease of Quintin Kennedy, brother of Buchanan's former pupil, the Earl of Cassillis, and valued at five hundred pounds Scottish currency. Buchanan's steady attachment, however, to the Reformed religion, and the liberties of his country, placed him in direct opposition to the two ruling—and they are generally associated—passions of Mary, a love of despotism in the state, and zeal for papacy in the church. In these circumstances he held her favour by a very precarious tenure, and therefore, cultivated the friendship of the leaders of that party to which he was conscientiously attached.

In the same year he prepared for the press, a collection of Satires, *Fratres Fraterrimi*, in which he employed his keenest irony, and most vehement indignation against the fooleries and impurities of the popish church, and finished his *Franciscanus*, which he dedicated to the earl of Moray. This nobleman, who had been liberally educated, and was the friend of learning and virtue, was Buchanan's special patron; as commendator of the Priory of St. Andrews, he enjoyed the right of nominating the Principal of St. Leonard's College, and a vacancy occurring about the year 1566, he placed him at the head of that seminary.

In the year 1567, Buchanan published another collection, consisting of *Elegiæ Silvæ Hendecasyllabi*. From a letter prefixed to this publication, he would seem to have continued in some occupation at court, at least till July 1566. In November of that year, his name appears as one of the auditors of the faculty quæstors' accounts in the University of St. Andrews, where he now fixed his residence. The chamber which he is said to have occupied, as Principal of St. Leonard's,

is now part of a private dwelling house, and is supposed to have undergone scarcely any transformation. An inventory of its contents, 1544, has been preserved, it is curious, and it is not likely the furniture was more splendid in 1567—The following is a copy. In the first—twa standard beds, the fore side of aik, and the north side and the fuits of fir. Item, ane feather bed, and ane white plaid of four ells, and ane covering woven o'er with images. Item, another auld bed of harden, filled with straw, with an covering of green. Item, ane cod. Item, an inrower of buckram, of five bredes, part green, part red to zailow. Item, ane Flanders counter of the middlin kind. Item, ane little buird for the studzie. Item, ane furm of fir, and ane little letterin of aik on the side of the bed, with an image of St. Jerome. Item, ane stool of elm, with an other chair of little price. Item, ane chimney, weighing** Item, ane chandler, weighing**.

The emoluments of this office may be guessed at, from an opinion which he gave anent the reformation of the University of St. Andrews, printed No. 3 of the Appendix to Dr. Irvine's life of Buchanan, a work of much erudition, which they who wish to be acquainted with the literature of that age, may not only read, but study with advantage. He proposed to appropriate the three colleges, one to Humanity, another to Philosophy, and the third to Divinity, and the allowance "for the Principall and tuc æervants," he settled at "tuo quarts of ale, tuo bread of 16 unce the bread, ane quarter of mutton, or equivalent in silver, on the first day two shilling:" and in the "wadges of the persons," "the Principall" stands at "ane hundreth pundis." Perhaps this might exceed the revenue of the Principal of St. Leonard's, when Buchanan held it; for excepting the

short time of Moray's regency, there was little liberality shown by the government of Scotland, or the nobles, either towards the professors of learning, or the preachers of the gospel, during the whole scramble for that wealth which had hastened the ruin of the church of Rome, although never could Scotland boast of more disinterested, zealous, and successful teachers.

As Principal of the college, Buchanan delivered occasional prelections on Theology, and at the weekly meetings of the clergy, and other learned men in the district, held for expounding the Scriptures, then styled the exercise of Prophesying, he exhibited proofs of his intimate acquaintance with the oracles of God. In the University his character stood high, as in the Public Register, he is called "*Poetarum nostrae memoriæ facile princeps*," but he never was either rector or dean of the faculty of Arts. His name occurs three times in 1567--8--9, as one of the dean's assessors. From the year 1563, till the year 1567, he had the honour of a seat in the General Assembly as a "Doctor," and was a constant member of their most important committees. In this last year he was chosen moderator.

Hitherto Buchanan's life had been that of a Poet, Scholar, and Theologian, the situation of his country at this period, called him to mingle in the arena of politics. Queen Mary, who had rashly married Darnly, discovered, when too late, that she had bound herself to a headstrong fool, incapable of estimating the value, or returning the affection of an accomplished woman. His conduct, which no lady of inferior rank, had she been his wife, could have endured, outraged every feeling, and estranged every sentiment of affection, which his high spirited consort—queen had ever borne him, and

love turned to hate, the most furious of the human passions, urged the unhappy Princess to a series of actions, which lost her the affections of her subjects, the regard of her friends, and the possession of her throne. In an evil hour she sought refuge in England, and put herself in the power of an envious and malicious rival, Elizabeth, who, under pretext that she could neither afford her assistance, nor treat her with courtesy while her character remained aspersed, induced the unfortunate exile to submit her cause to her decision, and then summoned both her and her subjects, as parties, before her tribunal. The Regent, Moray, was forced by his circumstances, to undertake the ungracious task of appearing as the accuser of his sister and sovereign, and in the performance of this painful duty, was assisted by Buchanan, who attended him to the conference at York and Westminster, 1568--9, and drew up in Latin, "A detection of the doings of Mary, Queen of Scots."

The Quixotic admirers of Mary in later times, like the prince of China in the Persian tales, who fevered and grew frantic for the miniature of Solomon's mistress, have raved about an imaginary picture of perfection till they actually believed in its reality, and, betrayed by the illusion, have abused without mercy, both Moray and Buchanan, for their conduct on this occasion: yet none of Mary's cotemporary advocates could disprove the statements they brought forward, when not only her fame, but her liberty, and all that was dear to her on earth, demanded the proof. The allegations admitted of so easy a refutation, if false, that nothing but the fact of their being true, can account for their remaining uncontroverted; and, putting the letters and sonnets out of the question, "The

simple and uncontroverted history of Mary's proceedings," as Dr. Irvine remarks, "from the period of her pretended reconciliation with Darnly, to that of her marriage with Bothwell, exhibits such strong moral evidence of her criminality, as it seems impossible for an unprejudiced mind to resist."

Much of the obloquy which Buchanan has incurred, originated from a mistake in attributing to him, *Actio contra Marium*, the production of another, and his honest fame is indebted to the diligence of Mr. Laing, for a discovery which exempts him from the imputation of having written a malignant invective against the sovereign, he certainly at one time respected and admired. The *Detection*, as originally written by Buchanan was a concise historical deduction of facts, preceding the marriage with Bothwell, such as was absolutely necessary for understanding the subject, and vindicating the proceedings of the nobles, composed with chaste and classical precision, keen, but not virulent. The *Actio*, produced by one of the satellites of Elizabeth, is as violent and ungentlemanly as any of the apologies for Queen Mary, and contains sentiments directly the reverse of Buchanan's, "*qui vero regem, qui vera est in terris Dei imago,*" "*princeps Dei imaginem refert in terris. Qui igitur magestatem laedit Deum laedit.*" That a prince is the true image of God upon earth, and, that he who offended majesty, offends God, could never have occurred as arguments to the author of *De jure, regni apud Scotos*, who, upon every occasion, inculcated the accountability of princes for their misconduct.

The *Detection*, which was strictly an official paper, was left by Buchanan in England, when he returned with the Earl of Moray to Scotland, in the beginning

of 1569, and was published at London, in 1571, with the *Actio* annexed in Italic print. The authors of both were sufficiently known at the time, but the names of neither were affixed to the title page, and, as usually happens in such cases, in a few years, the name of the least celebrated of the two was forgotten by the public, and both performances were currently circulated as “*Buchanan’s Detection*,” &c.

The Earl of Moray, whose name is embalmed in the remembrance of his country, as the GOOD REGENT, having, soon after his return to Scotland, fallen by the hand of an assassin, whom he had formerly pardoned, Buchanan dreaded that this was but part of a plan, concerted by the house of Hamilton, for forwarding their attempts upon the Scottish throne, to which they were the next heirs ; and, under these impressions, addressed, “*Ane admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis, maintainaris of justice, and obedience to the Kingis grace.*” Of which two editions were printed by Robert Lekprevick, at Stirling, in the year 1570--1. Its object was to rouse the nobility to repress the disorderly, punish the abettors of sedition, and protect the young king from the dangers which threatened his life ; and he draws a forcible picture of the selfish politics of the Hamiltons, which he considered the source of the calamities of the nation. This tract is written with a power, energy, and elegance, equal to any of the best prose compositions of that age, and leads us to regret, that Buchanan had not cultivated more a language in which he was so well qualified to excel. The only other production of his, in the Scottish tongue, is another tract entitled *Chamaelon*, a severe satire upon the wavering politics of Secretary Maitland. The

Secretary, who had heard something of this performance, and suspected that Lekprevick was printing it in Edinburgh, repeatedly searched his house—on the 14th of April, 1571, at 11 o'clock at night, for the third time—without being able to obtain the manuscript. He, however, succeeded in suppressing the publication at the time; but a copy, preserved among the Cotton MSS., dated 1570, was printed in the *Miscellanea Scotica*, London, 1710, and has since been repeatedly reprinted.

Buchanan, during the regency of Moray appears to have been director of the chancery, an office which he held only a short time, and probably resigned on being appointed lord privy seal, under the Regent Lennox, in the year 1570. In the same year he was intrusted by the privy council with the important charge of the education of the young king, now in his fourth year, and had associated with him, Mr. Peter Young, to aid in the literary instruction; and the commendators of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, David and Adam Erskine, both related to the noble family of Marr, to superintend his sports and bodily accomplishments.

The plan of James' education was wisely framed; it included the learned languages—arithmetic, geography, astronomy, rhetoric, logic, and history. In the exercise in composition prescribed to the royal pupil, more attention appears to have been paid to improvement in the vernacular language, than was common at that period; and Dr. M'Crie, [in his life of Andrew Melville,] thinks it is highly probable that, "The Essayes of a Prentice in the divine art of Poesie," consisted chiefly of exercises performed by him at the direction of his teachers. Great care was taken to instruct him

in modern history, and especially the history of the nation over which he was to rule ; and, next, to imbuing his mind with the principles of religion and virtue. It was Buchanan's great concern to give him just views of the nature of government, and what was incumbent on the king of a free people.

Of the uncourtly discipline to which, when a child, James was subjected, two instances have been recorded. The king having coveted a tame sparrow that belonged to his playfellow, the master of Marr, after attempting in vain to induce him to part with it, endeavouring to take it by force, killed it in the attempt. Erskine's lamentation for the loss of his favourite, brought Buchanan, who, on being informed of the circumstances, boxed the ears of the young monarch, telling him, at the same time, that he was himself a true bird of a bloody nest.

On the other occasion, a theme which had one day been prescribed to the royal pupil, was the conspiracy of the Earl of Angus, and other noblemen, during the reign of James III. After dinner, he was diverting himself with the master of Marr, and as Buchanan, who in the meantime was intent on reading, found himself annoyed by their obstreperous mirth, he desired the king to desist ; no attention being paid to this mild request, he threatened to accompany his next injunction with something more forcible. James, who had been tickled with the quaint application of the apologue mentioned in his theme, replied, he would be glad to see who would bell the cat. On which, his venerable preceptor threw aside his book with indignation, and bestowed upon the delinquent, that species of discipline which is deemed most ignominious. The Countess of

Marr, being attracted by the wailing which ensued, hastened to the spot, and taking the royal sufferer in her arms, demanded of Buchanan how he presumed to lay his hand upon "The Lord's anointed." To which Buchanan is reported to have replied : " Madam, I have whipt his **** ; you may kiss it if you please."*

As James advanced in life, and personal chastisement could not with propriety be administered, Buchanan had recourse to methods of reproof adapted to his years, and intended to produce effect at the time, and be afterwards remembered. Dr. Irvine thus notices an instance : " One of the earliest propensities which he [James] discovered, was an excessive attachment to favourites ; and this weakness, which ought to have been abandoned with the other characteristics of childhood, continued to retain its ascendancy during every stage of his life. His facility in complying with every request, alarmed the sagacity of Buchanan. On the authority of the poet's nephew, Chytraeus has recorded a ludicrous expedient which he adopted for the purpose of correcting his pupil's conduct. He presented the young king with two papers, which he requested him to sign ; and James, after having slightly interrogated him respecting their contents, readily affixed his signa-

* This story, it should, however, be remarked, is given on the authority of Dr. Mackenzie, who bore no good will to Buchanan and who was an idolater of royalty. That Buchanan did inflict corporal chastisement on the boy, there is no reason to doubt ; if he saw it necessary, he was not the man to be scared by any imaginary sacredness of royal skin, but that he returned so rude an answer, is not at all likely ; nor is it probable that Lady Erskine would interfere to prevent their pupil from being properly castigated ; for Sir James Melville tells us that she too " kept the king in awe ;" and her known character for wisdom, leads to the supposition that she would second rather than thwart the due application of the rod.

ture to each, without the precaution of even a cursory perusal. One of them was a formal transfer of the regal authority for the space of fifteen days. Having quitted the royal presence, one of the courtiers accosted him with his usual salutation; but he announced himself in the new character of a sovereign, and, with that humour for which he was distinguished, began to assume the demeanour of royalty. He afterwards preserved the same deportment towards the king himself; and when James expressed his amazement at such extraordinary conduct, Buchanan reminded him of his having resigned the crown. This reply did not tend to lessen the monarch's surprise, and he began to suspect his preceptor of derangement. Buchanan then produced the instrument by which he was formally invested; and with the authority of a tutor, proceeded to remind him of the absurdity of assenting to petitions in so rash a manner."

The discipline of Buchanan was unfortunately not well supported in its most essential department. He had undertaken his task from purely disinterested motives, and no inducement of selfish emolument, or family advantage, prompted him to swerve from the rigid performance of his duty; but Young, his assistant, looked forward to the results of ingratiating himself with his pupil, and pursued the course which tended to advance his prospects, by flattering the vanity of the young king. The consequence was natural; the adulation of this sycophant, produced the worst effects upon the youthful mind of James, alienated him from the wholesome instructions of Buchanan, and nourished the vices which it was his office to correct. The royal youth, indeed, became a good scholar, but this early

flattery depraved his heart, and destroyed the moral feelings of a mind not naturally strong.

James afterwards promoted Young; but through life he hated Buchanan, although when his own reputation for scholarship was concerned, he had no objections to connect it with that of his teacher, as in the following instance. At the disputation which was held by the Edinburgh professors, before his majesty, in the royal chapel of Stirling, one of the English doctors expressed his admiration at the fluency and elegance of his Latinity: "All the world," replied the king, "knows that my master, George Buchanan, was a great master in that faculty. I follow his pronounciation both of the Latin and Greek, and am sorry that my people of England do not the like; for certainly their pronounciation utterly spoils the grace of those two learned languages. But you see all the university, and learned men of Scotland, express the true and native pronounciation of both."

Buchanan's situation as lord privy seal, entitled him to a seat in Parliament, in whose proceedings he took an active part, and was appointed a commissioner on several occasions of considerable importance. In 1578, he formed one of a numerous commission, among whom were the Earls of Morton and Buchan, Archbishop Adamson, Craig, and Arbuthnot, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, to examine and digest the laws of the land. From some cause, this plan was never carried into execution, a circumstance the more to be regretted, as the united wisdom of this committee might have produced, if nothing else, at least, an example of inestimable advantage to their posterity, that of eliciting order, precision, and common sense, out of

a confused unwieldy mass of acts, often unintelligible, and not unfrequently at variance with each other; whose existence, in the statute books, serve only to perplex, and frequently to create litigation.

He was included also in two commissions respecting education. The one, for supplying a proper Latin grammar, to be substituted by authority in all the schools, in place of the variety at that time generally taught. Buchanan's part of the performance was prosody. The grammar was finished, but did not long continue in use. The other, to inspect and reform the universities and colleges within the realm, to displace unqualified teachers, and provide persons more competent in their room. The commissioners, accordingly, as an experiment, proposed a scheme of reformation for St. Andrews, which was ratified by the Scottish Parliament, on the 11th November, 1579, but repealed when reformation principles began to retrograde. Besides these, he was, in the year 1578, associated in a commission for examining a "Book of the Policy of the Kirk."

With the Regents, Murray, Lennox, and Marr, Buchanan was cordially united; but Morton, while pursuing his schemes of personal aggrandizement, forfeited both the favour of the nation, and offended those whose official situation gave them influence over the young king. He was, in consequence, displaced from the regency, and Buchanan was associated with other officers of state, in the privy council appointed for directing the young monarch, during the short time Morton was out of office. On the return of the earl to power, this council was, of course, dissolved, and it does not appear certain that he ever afterwards held any political office; his nephew, Thomas Buchanan, having

been appointed keeper of the privy seal, in April, 1578. Such, however, was the importance attached by Queen Elizabeth to the political favour of Buchanan about this time, that in a list, still preserved, of persons whom she wished to attach to her interest by pensions, his name stands valued at one hundred pounds, then no despicable sum, and equal to the estimated price of several noble earls. But he does not appear to have had the honour of refusing the bribe, nor are there any traces of his ever having known that such an intention existed.

Amid all his numerous avocations, his whole soul seems to have been intensely bent upon forming, in the mind of the king, those principles which alone elevate the character, and secure the happiness of a first magistrate in a free state. That he failed our forefathers had cause to lament; but they who participate in the blessings of the British constitution, should venerate the memory of a man, who urged and illustrated those principles which were practically exemplified in 1688, and to which the House of Hanover *solely* owe whatever right they possess to the crown.

In 1576 he prepared his *Baptistes* for the press, and dedicated it to the young king in a strain which too seldom meets the royal ear; it is like a solemn, prophetic admonition, in which his venerable preceptor frees himself from any blame which might arise from the consequences of his pupil's misconduct; and with an anxiety but too well grounded, warns him against forsaking the instructions of his youth: "This circumstance," says he, "may seem to bear a more peculiar reference to you, that it clearly discloses the punishment of tyrants, and the misery which awaits them even

when their prosperity seems at the height. That you should now acquire such knowledge, I consider as not only expedient but even necessary, in order that you may early begin to hate what you ought ever to shun. I therefore wish this work to remain as a witness to posterity, that if, impelled by evil counsellors, or suffering the licentiousness of royalty to prevail over a virtuous education, you should hereafter be guilty of any improper conduct, the fault may be imputed, not to your preceptors, but to you who have not obeyed their salutary admonitions."

In similar language, and with increasing anxiety, as if "age had imparted its mystical lore," three years afterwards, he inscribed to him the most important of all his writings, except his History, the treatise, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*: "I have deemed," says the venerable teacher, "[this] publication expedient, that it may at once testify my zeal for your service, and admonish you of your duty to the community." Then, after some compliments to his docility, he adds: "Yet am I compelled to entertain some slight degree of suspicion, lest evil communication, the alluring nurse of the vices, should lend an unhappy impulse to your still tender mind; especially as I am not ignorant with what facility the external senses yield to seduction. I have therefore sent you this treatise, not only as an advice, but even as an importunate, and sometimes impudent, exhorter, to direct you, at this critical period of life, safely past the dangerous rocks of adulation; not merely to point out the path, but to keep you in it, and if you should deviate, to reprove and reclaim your wanderings; which monitor if you obey, you will ensure tranquillity

to yourself and your family, and transmit your glory to the most remote posterity."

This treatise, now first published, had been originally written as a defence of the proceedings of the friends of freedom, with regard to their treatment of the queen, and does not enter upon the discussion of a merely local question, as to her participation in the murder of her husband, and her liability to punishment, but considers, in all its bearings, the broad but delicate question of allegiance, and pronounces as incontrovertible, what in truth it is difficult to controvert, that a good government alone has a right to support, and that a bad one ought to be resisted, and bad governors punished. At the time of its publication, it had to combat with the accumulated prejudices and interests of ages of ignorance and superstition; and every argument, which the hirelings of established abuses, or the arm of hereditary power could call forth, was exerted to circumscribe, but as usual contributed to extend, its circulation. It was read with unparalleled avidity on the continent, and had obtained too deep root in the public mind of Europe, to be eradicated by the ungrateful, and imbecile attempts of the monarch to whom it was dedicated to suppress it. And now, when the prejudices of the day are over, the verdict of some of the ablest writers of our own time, has assigned it a primary station among the few books in political science which deserve to be preserved. "The science," says Sir James Mackintosh, "which teaches the rights of man, the eloquence that kindles the spirit of freedom, had for ages been buried with the other monuments of the wisdom, and relics of the genius of antiquity. But the revival of letters first unlocked only to a few the sacred fountain.

The necessary labours of criticism and lexicography occupied the earlier scholars, and some time elapsed before the spirit of antiquity was transfused into its admirers. The first man of that period, who united elegant learning to original and masculine thought, was Buchanan; and he, too, seems to have been the first scholar who caught from the ancients the noble flame of republican enthusiasm. This praise is merited by his neglected, though incomparable, tract, *De jure Regni*, in which the principles of popular politics, and the maxims of a free government, are delivered with a precision, and enforced with an energy, which no former age had equalled, and no succeeding has surpassed."

Buchanan had experienced great vicissitude, and the space he filled in the eye of his cotemporaries, rendered them anxious to preserve some authentic memorial of so important and varied a life; and he, in compliance with their solicitations, in his seventy-fourth year, wrote a simple and dignified sketch of the varied fortune through which he had passed.* The contrast between this performance, and the voluminous memoirs which the vanity of modern authors obtrudes daily on the public, is somewhat amusing, and perhaps, in general, the interest the public takes in the life and writings of a man, may be safely calculated in the inverse ratio of the size of his memoirs, written by himself.

For nearly twenty years, Buchanan had been employed in collecting, arranging, and writing his *History of Scotland*, and his laborious life was now drawing to a close; yet he still maintained, as he had long done, an extensive correspondence with the first literary, and political characters of the age, both upon the continent

* Printed at the end of this Essay.

and in Britain, of which only a very inconsiderable portion has been preserved, and, it is to be regretted, there are no hopes of its being now much enlarged. It was originally collected by Dr. Oliphant, and published at London, 1711. The two following, written in the Scottish language a few years before his death, have been recovered, and show that peculiar vein of humour which he possessed, even on the most serious subjects, and which never forsook him to the last. They are addressed to Sir Thomas Randolph, who was Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador in Scotland, and whose name is familiar to the readers of Scottish history. The first, published by Dr. M'Crie, in his appendix to Melville's Life, from the original in the British Museum, has no year. The other was written from Stirling, August, 1577, and occurs in Mr. Ruddiman's Preface.

To his singular freynd M. Randolph, maister of postes to the queines g. of Ingland. In London.

I resaut twa pair of lettres of you sens my latter wryting to you. wyth the fyrst I ressavit Marianus Scotus, of quhylk I thank you greatly, and specialy that your ingles men ar fund liars, in thair cronicles allegyng on hym sic thyngs as he never said. I haif beyne vexit wyth seiknes al the tyme sens, and geif I had decessit ye suld haif losit both thankis and recompens. now I most neid thank you, bot geif wear brekks up of thys foly laitley done on the border, than I wyl hald the recompens as Inglis geir. bot gif peace followis, and nother ye die seik of mariage, or of the twa symptomes following on mariage, quhylks ar jalozie and cuccaldry, and the gut carry not me away, I most find sum way to pay or ceis kyndnes, or ellis, geifing up kynndes, pay zou w^t evil wordis, and, geif thys fas-

son of dealing pleasit me, I haif reddy occasion to be angry wyth you, that haif wissit me to be ane kentys man, quhylk in a maner is ane centaur half man half beast. and yet, for ane certaine consideration, I wyl pas over that iniury, imputyng it erar to your new folly than to ald wisdome; for geif ye had bein in your ryt wyt ye bein anis escapit the tempesteous stormes and naufrage of mariage, had never enterit agane in the samyng dangeris. for I can not tak you for ane Stoik philosopher having ane head inexpugnable w' the frenetyk tormetis of Jalozie, or ane cairless [margin skeptik] hart that taks cuccaldris as thyng indifferent. In this caise I most neidis praefer the rude Scottis wyt of Capitaine Cocburne to your inglis solomonical sapience, quhylk wery of ane wyfe deliuret hir to the queyne againe, bot you deliurit of ane wyfe castis your self in the samyn nette, *et ferre potes dominam saluis tot restibus ullam*. and so capitaine cocburne is in better case than you, for his seiknes is in the feitte and zouris in the heid. I pray you geif I be out of purpose thynk not that I suld be maryit, bot rather consider your awyn dangerous estait, of the quhylk the spoking has thus troublit my braine, and put me so far out of the way. As to my occupation at this present tyme, I am besy w' our story of Scotland, to purge it of some Inglis lyis and Scottis vanitie. as to maister Knoks his historie is in hys freindis handis, and thai are in cōsultation to mitigat sum part the acerbite of certain wordis and sum taintis quhair in he has followit to much s^u of your inglis writairis as M. hal et suppilatorem eius Graftone, &c. As to M. beza, I fear y^e eild quhylk has put me from verses making, sal deliure him sone a Scabie poetica, quhylk war ane great pitye, for he is ane

of the most singular poets that has beine thys lang tyme. as to your great prasyng gevin to me in your l^re, gief ye scorn not I thank you of luif and kyndes towart me bot I am sorie of your corrupt iugement. heir I wald say mony iniuries to you war not yat my gut comandis me to cesse, and I wyl also spair mater to my nixt writings. Fair-weall and God keep you. At Sterling the sext of august.

Be youris at al power
G. Buchanan.

To Maister Randolf Squiar

Maister of Postes to the Quenes Grace of Ingland.

Maister I haif resavit diverse letters frome you, and yit I haif ansourit to naine of thayme; of the quhylke albeit I haif mony excusis, as age, forgetfulnes, besines, and disease, yit I wyl use nane as now, except my sweirnes and your gentilnes; and geif ye thynk nane of theise sufficient, content you with ane confession of the falt w^out fear of punition to follow on my onkindnes. As for the present I am occupiit in writyng of our historie being assurit to content few and to displease mony tharthrow. As to the end of it, yf ye gett it not or thys winter be passit, lippen not for it, nor nane other writyngs from me. The rest of my occupation is wyth the gout, quhylk haldis me besy both day and nyt. And quhair ye say ye haif not lang to lyif, I traist to God to go before yow albeit I be on fut an ye ryd *the post*: praying you als not to *dispost* my hoste at New werk, Jone of Kilsterne. Thys I pray you, partly for his awyne sake quhame I tho' ane gud fellow, and partly at request of syk as I dar no' refuse. and thus I tak my leif shortly at you now, and my lang leif quhen

God pleasis, committing you to the protection of the almy'ty. At Sterling xxv day of august 1577.

Yours to command wt. service

G. Buchanan.

An amiable trait of his character at this advanced period of life, is recorded by Thomas Jack, who was then teacher of a Grammar School in Glasgow, immediately dependant on the Cathedral Church, and afterward minister of Eastwood, a neighbouring parish. Jack waited upon him, to request that he would revise the manuscript of his *Onomasticon Poeticum*, a work composed in Latin verse, containing an explanation of the proper names which occur in the writings of the ancient poets, and experienced his friendly disposition then, as he had frequently done on former occasions. "I found him," says he, "in the royal palace of Stirling, diligently engaged in writing his *History of Scotland*. He was so far from being displeased with my interruption, that he cheerfully took my work into his hands, and after continuing to read two or three pages of it, he collected together his own papers, which were scattered on the table, and said, I will desist from my undertaking, till I have done what you wish. This promise he accurately performed, and within a few days gave me a paper, written with his own hand, containing such corrections as he thought necessary."

His last epistle exhibits him in a no less pleasing point of view. It is addressed to his early friend, Beza, introducing a young and accomplished Frenchman, whose father was murdered in the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, and who, after finding a temporary asylum in Scotland, was then returning to the continent.

Although my attention is divided by various occupa-

tions, and the state of my health is so desperate as to leave me no leisure for the common duties of life, yet the departure of Jerome Groslot has banished all my excuses ; for as the Father, who was a man of distinction, loaded me, during my residence in France, with every species of kindness, and the son has honoured me here as another parent, I was aware that, among you, I could not escape the heavy charge of ingratitude, if I should now overlook the kindness which I experienced from the one, the pleasant intercourse which I have enjoyed with the other, and the polite attention you have uniformly paid me. Yet, among those who are not unacquainted with my present condition, such a fault would readily find its apology. It is my best apology, that all my senses dying before me, what now remains of the image of the former man, testifies not that I am, but that I have been alive, especially as I can neither cherish the hope of contracting new intimacies, nor of continuing the old. These circumstances I now mention with greater confidence, as the present occasion affords you an opportunity of learning my condition from Groslot, whom it appears superfluous to recommend to your attention. The dispositions of youth disclose themselves without our aid, I have, however furnished him with a recommendation, rather to comply with the common practice, than because it is requisite. With regard to myself, since I cannot continue my former mode of life, by the reciprocation of friendly offices, I shall refrain from those exertions to which I have long been unequal, and indulge in silence. Farewell. This letter is dated from Edinburgh, 15th July, 1581, whence he never again removed.

In September of that year, he was visited by An-

drew Melvin, James Melvin, and his cousin, Thomas Buchanan, provost of the collegiate church of Kirkheugh, to inquire after his health, and the progress of his history, which they heard was at press. Of this visit, James Melville has left a simple and interesting account^e in his diary.

“That September,” says he, “in tyme of vacans, my vnclē Mr Andro, Mr Thomas Buchanan and I, heiring y^t Mr George Buchanā was weak and his Historie under ye press, past ower to Edin^r annes earend to visit him and sie the wark. When we cam to his chalmer we fand him sitting in his chaire teatching his young man that servit him in his chalmer to spel a, b, ab; e, b, eb; &c. efter salutation Mr Andro sayes, I sie, sir, yie are not ydle. better this quoth he nor stelling sheipe, or sitting ydle whilk is als ill. y^refter he shew ws the epistle dedicatorie to the king; the quhylk when Mr Andro had read, he tald him that it was obscure in sum places and wanted certean wordis to perfyt the sentence. Sayes he, I may do na mair for thinking on a nother mater. What is that, says Mr Andro. to die quoth he: bot I leave that an mony ma things to you to helpe. [he was telling him also of Blakwoods answer to his buik de iure regni] We went from him to the Printers wark hous whom we fand at the end of the 17 buik of his chronicle, at a place qhuilk we thought verie hard for the tyme, qhuilk might be an ocasion of steying the hail work, anent the burial of Davie. Therefore, steying the printer from proceeding, we cam to Mr George again and fand him bedfast by [contrary to] his custome, and asking him whow he did, Even going the wayof weilfare, sayes he. Mr Thomas his cusing shawes him of the hardnes of that part of his

storie y^t the king wald be offendit w^t it, and it might stey all the wark. Tell me man sayes he giff I have tauld the treuthe. Yes sayes Mr. Thomas sir I think sa. I wyl byd his fead and all his kin's then quoth he, pray, pray to God for me and let him direct all. Sa, be the printing of his Cronicle was endit, that maist lerned, wyse, and godlie man endit this mortal lyff."

Buchanan survived this visit a twelvemonth, and it would have been gratifying to know, whether he ever received any mark of gratitude or kindness from his royal pupil during the whole of his protracted illness; presumptions are against it. Thaunus, however, inform us, that James required his preceptor, to retract what he had written with so much freedom respecting the queen his mother, and leave to posterity some formal testimony of his compunction. He at first returned an evasive answer, but being afterwards importuned by repeated messages, he made this final declaration:—That he could not recal what he had written in the full conviction of its truth; but that after his decease, it would be in the king's power to adopt such measures with regard to his writings as he might judge expedient. He, however, admonished him to proceed with mature deliberation; and to reflect, that although God had intrusted supreme power to kings, yet that truth, which derives its strength from God, is as superior to their control as God is superior to man. Tradition gives the following answer: "Tell him I am going to a place where few kings can come." Whether this account refers to the statement in the Detection, or in the History, is of little consequence; for the variation between the two is extremely trifling, the one being copied almost verbatim into the other.

The History had been written as far as the death of the Regent Moray, before the close of the year 1578, but had been delayed in going to press on account of some accident, which Sir Robert Bowes communicates darkly in a letter to Lord Burleigh, dated Stirling, 18th September: "He [Buchanan] proposith to commend it to print shortly; but one thing of late hath been withdrawn from him, which he trusteth to recover, or else to supply of new with soer travell." What this was must now be matter of conjecture; but perhaps it may refer to the stoppage of some of his pecuniary resources.

It is uncertain whether Buchanan lived to see his great work published; he was, however, spared the pain of seeing the attempts of his ungrateful pupil to suppress it, and what would have been more galling to his virtuous spirit, the sycophancy of a Scottish Parliament seconding the wishes of an undisguised, but happily a weak despot, in his country, heretofore a land of freedom. He expired on the morning of Friday, the 28th of September, 1582, a little before five o'clock, at the age of seventy-six years, and nearly eight months; his last moments were tranquil, and when visited by John Davidson, he expressed his sole reliance to rest upon the blood of Christ. He was buried on Saturday, in the Grey Friars' church-yard, a great company of the faithful attending his funeral; and he who had raised an imperishable monument to the name of Scotland, has been allowed to remain without any other than a 'Through-stone' to mark his grave, of which the inscription, if it ever had one, was illegible more than a century ago.

An obelisk, however, has lately been raised by subscription, to his memory, at the village of Killearn; it

is nineteen feet square at the base, and rises about one hundred and three feet; the plan was suggested by the late Robert Dunmore, Esq., and the architectural design furnished by the late Mr. Craig, a nephew of Thomson.

His whole property at his death consisted of one hundred pounds, arrears due upon his pension of Crossragwell; and it is said he was buried at the expense of the city of Edinburgh, having, before his decease, ordered his servants to distribute to the poor a small sum he had in his house, and which was too trifling for any other purpose.

A skull, so thin as to be transparent, is still shown in the Edinburgh museum, as that which once belonged to Buchanan, and is usually contrasted with that of an idiot's, which is remarkably thick; its history is somewhat doubtful, and the Phrenological Society have not yet, from an examination of the ruined tenement, told us exactly who once possessed it.

Buchanan shared, with his most eminent copatriots, a fate to which his high talents and exemplary virtues equally entitled him; he was loved with the fondest enthusiasm by his friends, and followed with the keenest animosity by his enemies; for his friends were the friends of virtue, and his traducers a crowd of court sycophants, whose hatred is his highest praise. His countenance and manners were somewhat austere, but his heart was warm and kind; his conversation fascinating. He possessed, in an uncommon degree, the power of attracting around him the most eminent men of the countries in which he resided, and the still more uncommon faculty of retaining their admiration and friendship. His integrity was unbending, and his veracity

unimpeachable. He was a patriot in the purest sense of the word. Perceiving early in life the necessity, he shared in the dangers of the Reformation, and having carefully examined, he ardently embraced the doctrines of the Reformed. His piety seems to have been sincere and solid; it accompanied him through life, and supported him in death.

As a Latin poet, he was styled, by his friend Stephanus, the first of the age in which he lived, and all his cotemporaries acknowledged this supremacy, which their posterity have confirmed. As a political writer, he stands distinguished not more for the boldness than the soundness of his opinions, and if he was vehement, the errors which he combated were strongly intrenched behind prejudice and interest, and would have mocked the assault of a puny arm. As a Historian, his eloquence is unequalled among modern, and he rivals rather than imitates the most splendid of ancient, writers. If he had a bias, it was uniformly on the side of virtue and freedom; nor is his indignation ever pointed but against tyranny, irreligion and vice.

He has been accused of ingratitude to Mary, but it remains to be proved that she ever did more than pay him for his services; and it is certain that, till he believed her guilty of murder and adultery, he remained her friend; and his having been at one time her classical tutor, however this might aggravate the poignancy of his feelings on her fall, could never be a sufficient reason to an honest man for becoming the apologist of conduct, which his duty to his country compelled him to condemn.

At the revival of letters, and before there were any translations, a knowledge of the ancient languages was indispensably necessary for every one who wished to become possessed of the treasures they contained ; and the uncultivated tongues of modern Europe, possessed of no literature, presented few attractions to the scholar whose mind was imbued with the learning, and illuminated with the radiance of Greece and Rome. In consequence, the learned of these times adopted the language of the people, to whose genius they were indebted for their own improvement, and the tongues, which for ages had been silent, became again among them in some measure vernacular.

From the circumstances of the universality of the Roman power in Europe, and its influence on the ecclesiastical, when it became nearly extinct in the political world, the language of the metropolis was retained in the service of the church long after it ceased to be understood among the people. It had been always, even in the darkest times, cultivated by the monks, and used in the legends of the saints, the chronicles of the times, and the tenures of property. It therefore, when the spirit of inquiry was awakened, became the general medium of communication among the learned throughout Europe, and was spoken and written with an ease and fluency, even by ordinary scholars, which, in the present day, is but the attainment of a few ; and so requisite was an acquaintance with this language deemed, that the study of it was pre-eminently termed civilization, and, in our colleges, is still styled the study of humanity.

When Buchanan flourished, although the Italian, French, and English nations, had produced writers in their native tongues, whose fame can only perish when the languages in which they wrote are forgotten, and even Scotland could boast of her own poets of no mean name, yet extensive and immediate reputation, through the whole of Europe, and among that class whose praise is the most gratifying, could only be obtained by the use of the Latin, as the whole commonwealth of literature then possessed in it, what has since been frequently sighed after, one common language. Buchanan, who was enthusiastically fond of the tongue which he had learned with great labour when a boy, and keenly alive to the desire of posthumous fame, naturally preferred exercising his genius in the language he admired, and by which he expected to secure the most extensive and lasting reputation.

In subjects of science, or in abstract speculation, a settled language, in which the terms are fixed and understood, possesses considerable advantages; but in matters of taste, or poetical description, a language, of which the limits have been long irrevocably determined, labours under difficulties which the most exalted genius can never altogether overcome; every phrase and idiom is appropriated and applied; no new combinations can be formed which may be judged of by their effect, for they must all be tried, not by the pleasure they give, but by their accordance with immoveable standards, which now exist only in the letter; the sounds and the words are associated with none of the objects by which we are surrounded, they awaken no recollections fresh from nature, but lead us back to forms and figures, which we only know by hearsay, and of which we have

very inadequate conceptions, and very inaccurate ideas. We cannot affix a determinate shade to the colour even of the far famed Tyrian purple. We naturally think in our mother tongue, and when we attempt thinking in another, we translate. A person may have acquired such a thorough knowledge of another language, and the operation may be so rapid as to elude at the moment even his own observation, but still let him analyze the process, and he will find he is translating; and this is particularly the case where a person has been in the habit of using his native tongue together with his acquired one.

This remark, which holds good when we have learned a living language, and in a land where it is spoken, and accounts for the very small number of foreigners, indeed, who ever are able to write with the accuracy of a very humble native, much less with the elegance of a very accomplished one, applies with double force as it regards a dead tongue. The buildings, the dress, the customs, the manners, of the ancients, all have passed away, and the terms which were applicable and appropriate to them, are by no means so to their successors. There must be an incessant adaptation of names to things similar, which yet are not the same; the toga virilis was somewhat different from a man's coat, yet, in modern Latinity, it is allowed to represent it. If a poet walk forth into the fields, his raptures rise in his native tongue; classical images may occur to him, particular prospects may awaken the recollection of some passages in the Roman writers that have a resemblance, the outline may have some fanciful likeness, but the features are not the same. Love, itself, cannot be sung with propriety in the dead languages. In the whole range of modern Greek and

Latin poetry, there is no such creation as Highland Mary, or Mary in Heaven. There are thousands of Idyls, elegies, and odes ; imitations enow of Theocritus, Tibullus, and Ovid—there is, *perhaps*, the pure language of Athens or Rome, but we want the touching language of the heart ; all the illustrations are from, to us, imaginary objects. The realities which Horace or Propertius embodied in their verses are gone, and when we adopt their language, we use it to signify the operation of a passion modified by a state of society to which the phrases are not applicable. In short, the serious application of Latin terms to describe modern life and manners, implies a constant absurdity to which nothing but custom could have reconciled us.

It is with considerable difficulty that foreigners acquire the true pronounciation of a language under the tutorage of living teachers, and every person knows how few comparatively of the natives themselves speak purely, or read with propriety, their mother tongue. But when a language ceases to be spoken, it cannot be supposed that the pronounciation will be preserved ; and in one of the first and most essential requisites of poetry, its music, he must ever be deficient who cannot pronounce correctly the language in which he writes. It is like a man composing music, without a musical ear ; he may be trained to count his syllables, or measure his verses, but he must ever be liable to false quantities. On these accounts, so soon as the native poets of modern Europe had illustrated their respective tongues, the composition of Latin poems ceased, except as college exercises ; and the majority of the laborious efforts which were made to rival Virgil and Horace, are now

allowed to repose undisturbed among the waste or the wrecks of misapplied talents.

Buchanan's Poetry in some degree shares in the general neglect, and it is to the happy choice of his subjects, more than to the transcendent ability with which he has treated them, he owes the stability of that splendid reputation which once filled every corner of Europe, and that his name as a Poet, is not now only mentioned among the illustrious dead, to whom the palm of superiority awarded by their cotemporaries is silently allowed by posterity, but whose works, though often praised, are seldom read.

The Franciscan, and the *Fratres Fraterrimi*, will always be interesting for the keen satire and eloquent declamation they contain, while the masterly picture he draws of the crimes and vices of the monks of his day, render them important as historical documents, independently of their poetical beauties. His Paraphrase of the Psalms it were superfluous to praise. As a collection of devotional odes, elegant, beautiful, and often vying in sublimity with the divine originals their claims have been long established. In Hymns of contrition, or confidence, adoration, or praise, when the creature approaches his Creator, the hopes and fears, the subjects of regret, the motives to gratitude, and the themes of rapture must be the same in every age, and in every country. The Songs of Solyma were never dictated by inspiration to be appropriated to any language, but where the same feelings exist, the sentiments admit of transfusion into every tongue. One thing only was to be avoided, contaminating the purity of Zion with the mythology of Rome; and from this Buchanan has kept himself wholly free.

But it is upon his political and historical writings, that the most lasting fame of Buchanan depends, and these require to be more particularly examined. Respecting the Detection of Queen Mary, for which Buchanan has suffered so much obloquy, and against which so many attacks have been made, tending to invalidate the veracity of the Historian, it ought never to be forgotten, that in its first shape it was strictly an official paper, and that it is totally distinct from the Actio. The Detection alone was acknowledged by Buchanan, and to it alone, as incorporated in his History, does his veracity stand pledged.

It were impossible to examine all the cavils and objections, which the apologists of Mary have brought forward against it, this would lead to the production of another volume, in a controversy on which too much has already been written, and is, besides, unnecessary, after the able and satisfactory statements of Hume, Robertson, and Laing. But to those who have not examined the controversy, it may be requisite to state, that the Detection was drawn up from the instructions of the Privy Council of Scotland—produced at the conferences at Westminster by the Regent ; that no plain, direct negative was given to this paper at the time, nor has any well connected counter statement ever yet been produced, nor in fact, any statement which does not entirely leave all the moral evidence out of the question, and require us to believe, that men can be wicked not only against their interest, but against their inclination ; nor is it in vindications, written centuries after the Queen was dead, that we are to look for the contradiction of a short, simple narrative of facts, written, produced, and uncontroverted

when she stood upon trial. Having premised this much with regard to the Detection as a business memorial, for the accuracy of which, not Buchanan alone, but the whole of the then government of Scotland are responsible, I shall now proceed to those principles and writings for which he is personally accountable.

No man's political principles have ever been the object of more abuse than Buchanan's, and, as often happens, the abuse has been copied from his violent personal and party antagonists, and aggravated by numbers who have taken up a side, and deemed it superfluous to examine what they chose to decry; and their violence has uniformly been in proportion to their want of information on the subject.

In politics and in morals, there is no blindness so hopeless as that of interest or inclination. To convince a man of the inutility of an order of things, from which he individually, or through his family connexions, derives a snug and comfortable income, or which ministers to his gratification, or extends his power—although that order of things be to every one else, not only evidently useless, but palpably mischievous—would require an energy beyond the common reach of human intellect, or a subject to operate upon, superior to the common run of humanity. It therefore always happens, that when a system of abuse, sanctified through age, by which the few feed and fatten at the expense of the many, begins to totter under the weight of its own unwieldy corruption, it has numerous and powerful supporters, long after the body of the people have perceived the absurdity, as well as felt the oppression of the nuisance; and they who first attack what the majority wish destroyed, must expect to encounter a

discharge of calumny and falsehood, equal in virulence to the fear and the interest of its selfish upholders.

At such a crisis of affairs in Scotland, Buchanan appeared. The oppression and accumulated corruptions of the church of Rome, had long rendered this yoke an insufferable burden, and the bulk of the community had begun to see its folly, as well as groan under its weight. Those only whom it nourished in idleness, or supplied with the means of ambition, were insensible to its abominations, and determined to support them. The Reformers and among them Buchanan holds a distinguished place, were equally the friends of Civil as of Religious liberty; the causes were inseparably the same, for in Scotland then, as in the countries now where popery is predominant, the errors of the established religion were so interwoven with the abuses of the state, that it was impossible to amend the one, without correcting the other. The superstition of Rome is the natural ally of despotism, and both, on any attempt to reform either, become instantly alarmed, and raise the cry of heretic and rebel.

The first political writings of Buchanan, for the *Somnium*, *Franciscanus*, &c. must be considered in this light, were direct attacks upon the vices of the clergy, and contributed to render ridiculous among the higher ranks, what had already become detestable. But more powerful and popular exhibitions of truth, peculiarly adapted to the necessities of the case, the sermons of the preachers, and the diffusion of the Scriptures, accomplished a complete and effectual reform, for which the Poet, the Philosopher, and the Scholar, sighed in vain.

During Buchanan's absence from his native country, that revolution took place, which gave a rational

religion and a free government to Scotland. On his return, the causes were in train which were to put both to hazard, and he was soon called upon to vindicate the conduct pursued by the Protestant lords, in setting aside Mary, and placing the crown upon the head of her son, and thus originated—*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*—his celebrated treatise on the prerogative of the Scottish Crown. This treatise he afterward revised and published, and, as it now stands, must be considered as containing a full exposition of the principles of Buchanan. In it he traces the origin of society and government, draws the distinction between a legitimate king and a tyrant, and affirms the right of the people to punish their oppressors, to dismiss their rulers when they transgress the laws, and to choose others in their stead. On this broad basis, he defends the proceedings in Scotland, and, in the consideration of these subjects, he has produced an admirable general, and philosophical disquisition upon the respective duties of rulers and subjects.

In deducing the origin of society, he combats the theory, that it is at first a voluntary association, arising from a natural, perception of the utility of such an association, and contends, that it originates from a natural, instinctive, gregarious principle, implanted by God himself in the human bosom; in other words, he considers man as naturally a social animal, and compelled by this innate principle, to link himself with his species. When associated, the natural propensity of mankind to prefer each his own interest to that of his neighbour, originates quarrels, and thence springs the necessity of electing some ruler to preserve order, by whatever name he be called. The right to

choose this ruler, at first rests indisputably with the community over which he is to preside, and thus the supreme power evidently emanates from the people, who naturally choose the wisest and best qualified for the office.

But, as rulers are themselves imperfect, and the direct tendency of power is to vitiate the heart of the possessor, to render him impatient of contradiction, open to flattery, and liable to claim indulgence for his own vices, and thus to counteract the very purpose for which he was chosen, it is necessary that rules be prescribed, to preserve him from mistake, or to reclaim him if he err, therefore laws must be enacted. As those who possess the power to choose a ruler, possess the only rightful power to regulate his conduct, with them remains the power of enacting the laws by which he is to govern—of course, from the people proceed the Lawgivers. Now, as the multitude, through ignorance or passion, are liable to be misguided in their deliberations, the remedy is to have a Council selected from the people, to whom, in conjunction with the ruler or king, this important trust may be confided.

Laws embrace not only the general outline of government, but should decide upon the minute, and ever varying circumstances which arise between man and man. But these, no enactments, however numerous, can ever reach in every variety of detail, and no prince, of whatever capacity, pretend to pronounce upon personally. In order, therefore, to watch over the equitable administration of justice in private suits, Judges are appointed, and the more important proceedings reserved for the final decision of the Estates of the Nation, which should possess in all instances, the pre-

rogative of suiting the enactments to the emergencies of the case.

The will of the people being thus the only legitimate source of power, and the king thus appointed, the only legitimate monarch, he is properly and rightly created the fountain of honour in the state, from whose supereminent virtue, every thing that is noble, praiseworthy, and exemplary, ought to flow through the land; for in monarchies, the conduct of the Prince possesses the force of a law, and his subjects are ever prone to copy after his living example with greater avidity, than to form their manners by the precepts of a Statute Book. Opposed to such a King, stands a Tyrant, one who has obtained absolute power by force or fraud, against the will of the nation. A king is the first magistrate of a free state, a tyrant the master of slaves; a king relies upon the affections of his subjects, a tyrant depends upon a standing army; the one submits to the toils of government for the welfare of his people, the other thinks himself exalted entirely for his own self-gratification. This representation, it may be said, applies only to elective monarchies, where the People have the right of *choosing* a *new* king, upon the decease of the reigning monarch.

In reply to this, the author of *De Jure Regni*, considers the Scottish Crown as virtually elective, while possessing all the advantages of hereditary succession, because the power remains vested in the Parliament—which was, or ought to have been, the true representative of the nation's will—to set aside such as were unfit to reign, and by confirming the crown on each new accession, they did in fact, renew the original compact, by which the king was declared to hold the crown in

trust for the people, and created the monarch as truly as at first.

Taking this view of kingly government among the Scots, the question at issue came to be, if the king break the laws which he has sworn to observe, how ought he to be treated? A question the Scottish Nation had twice, within a few years, practically solved—first, by setting aside the authority of the Queen-regent, Mary's mother, and afterward, by imprisoning Mary herself, and transferring the crown to her son, but which it was deemed necessary to justify to foreign countries, among whom the person of a king, although he might be assassinated, or murdered, or imprisoned by factions, without remorse, and upon trifling occasions, was held sacred and inviolate from any legal tribunal, when guilty of the most atrocious and unjustifiable crimes.

This sacredness of the Royal person, was a doctrine which the Scottish politician exploded. He contended it never was acknowledged by the Laws of Scotland, and was tacitly denied by the laws of every other well regulated realm; for in all countries, if a king invade the property of a subject, and unjustly seize upon his house or his land, he may be sued in a court of law, he may be brought by proxy, before the tribunal of the country, and if on such occasions he be bound to answer before a judge, is it not right and proper, that when guilty of higher delinquencies, he be obliged to stand trial, and submit to the award of the laws he has violated? Besides, there is a mutual compact between a king and his people, and if the one party violate the tenor of the obligation, then the other is left free—if a king act in opposition to the interest of the society over which

he is placed, the object for which he was created is at an end, he is no longer a king but a tyrant; and to execute justice on a tyrant has ever, both in sacred and profane history, been esteemed a duty, not a crime. While he contended for the people's right of "taking order with kings," he, at the same time, was fully aware of the extreme delicacy of its exercise; of the impropriety of rash insurrectional movements, which usually defeat their own ends, and rivet the yoke they are meant to shake off; and concludes almost in the very words adopted by the late C. J. Fox, whose love of sober constitutional freedom was never seriously doubted, even by his bitterest opponents.

"There is no point in human concerns, wherein the dictates of virtue and worldly prudence are so identified as in this great question, of resistance by force to established government. Success, it has been invidiously remarked, constitutes in most instances, the sole difference between the traitor and the deliverer of his country. A rational probability of success, it may be truly said, distinguishes the well concerted enterprise of the patriot, from the rash schemes of the disturber of the public peace. To command success is not in the power of man; but to deserve success, by choosing a proper time, as well as a proper object, by the prudence of his means, no less than by the purity of his views, by a cause, not only intrinsically just, but likely to ensure general support, is the indispensable duty of him who engages in an insurrection against an existing government. Upon this subject, the opinion of Ludlow, who, though often misled, appears to have been an honest and enlightened man, is striking, and forcibly expressed. 'We ought,' says he, 'to be very careful and circum-

spect in that particular, and at least be assured of very probable grounds, to believe the power under which we engage, to be sufficiently able to protect us in our undertaking; otherwise, I should account myself not only guilty of my own blood, but also, in some measure, of the ruin and destruction of all those that I should induce to engage with me, though the cause were never so just.* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 235."

An excellent judge thus characterizes this work: "The dialogue of our illustrious countryman, Buchanan, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, though occasionally disfigured by the keen and indignant temper of the writer, and by a predilection—pardonable in a scholar warm from the schools of ancient Greece and Rome—for forms of policy unsuitable to the circumstances of modern Europe, bears, nevertheless, in its general spirit, a closer resemblance to the political philosophy of the eighteenth century, than any composition which had previously appeared. The ethical paradoxes, afterwards inculcated by Hobbes, as the groundwork of his slavish theory of government, are anticipated and refuted; and a powerful argument is urged against the doctrine of utility which has attracted so much notice in our times."†

The chief objection to his doctrine, which Buchanan seems most anxious to repel, is that which arises from some passages of Scripture, that have been urged in defence of passive obedience. In Titus, chap. iii. ver. 1. 1 Timothy, chap. ii. ver. 1, 2. and Romans, chap. xiii. ver. 1—7. these passages, he thinks, particularly

* Fox's History of the Reign of James II. p. 176, 177.

† Stewart's Dissertation on the Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy, p. 47.

the last, were addressed to some professors of that day, who believed, that when they became Christians, they were not bound to obey the civil magistrate; and, therefore, the apostle enforces the necessity of obeying the civil power as an ordinance of God. But this by no means enforces obedience to tyrants, as it expressly states the reasons of obedience—for he is the minister of God to thee for good; and it describes those to whom obedience is due—Rulers, who are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Now, if rulers were what Paul describes, there would be no tyrants, of course, no necessity for resistance, and no excuse for it; but to suppose that the apostle exhorts to unlimited obedience, would be to make him the supporter of slavery; and to contend that bad princes are an ordinance of God for good, reduces the reasoner to a strange dilemma. The passage simply enforces obedience to the magistracy, but by no means says that a bad magistrate, of whatever rank, ought not to be punished; it does not protect delinquency, and encourage crime, by holding out the divine right of kings; it is the sacredness of the office, not of the person who fills it, that is here urged; for were the opposite true, every petty magistrate has as sacred an inviolability thrown about his person as the highest, and Christians ought to submit to his exactions and extortions without complaint and without resistance, a doctrine irreconcilable to the whole tenor of Scripture, and to the conduct of Paul himself, who did not think the exercise of his rights, as a citizen, incompatible with his duty as a Christian.

Besides, the Christians to whom these epistles were primarily addressed, were in a very different situation from Christians in a country of professing Christians—

they were a few in a Heathen land, where resistance would have been impolitic and unwise ; but were the doctrine to be carried to its full extent, where all are called Christians, it would go to annihilate the very first principles of society, and set one man above the law. If a magistrate acts in opposition to the law, is it lawful to resist? Paul, too, has answered that question. They have beaten us openly, uncondemned, being Romans, and have cast us into prison, and now do they thrust us out privily? Nay verily. And these arguments apply to every magistrate, from the lowest to the first, for they are all included in the general description, "the powers that be."

The political sentiments of Buchanan pervade his history, and drew down upon that great work, the vengeance of all who were attached to Popery, or who advocated the divine right of kings in that age. In the next, it had to encounter the enmity of all the supporters of the House of Stuart, who advocated the same slavish tenets ; to them, the personal responsibility of kings for their conduct, a doctrine which runs through the whole history, was, of all Buchanan's principles, the most unpalatable, and one which they opposed with the utmost virulence and acrimony. It has since had to sustain, besides these attacks, the attacks of others who thought their sagacity implicated in discrediting the long roll of Scottish royalty, and imagined it necessary to overturn the origin of the nation, at the same time that they demolished the line of monarchs, two questions totally distinct.

Antiquarians, Enquirers, and Annalists, besides the whole host of freedom's enemies, have in some shape or other attacked the dead Lion, and numberless petty

assailants have striven to get a kick. His Latinity alone has been left untouched, and when his antagonists allow him the praise of eloquence, they dismiss all the courtesies of literature, and think they may divest him of every attribute which renders eloquence of any avail. He is charged with adopting implicitly the fables of our earlier history, although he was the first writer that avowedly rejected them; and with copying Boece, whose errors he has on many occasions pointed out. He is said to have written his history to pave the way for the Regent Moray to the crown, when it must have been projected long before Moray could ever dream of such a project; and, at all events, the greater part could only be composed after the regent was in his tomb. But the most rigid inquiry into the records of his own times, establishes the veracity of Buchanan, in his details of the most controverted points; and, in the dark and doubtful periods of our history, he has, at least, given us the most elegant account of what was anciently believed, and not repugnant to any then known authority, which is as high praise as can be bestowed upon any historian of the early stages of any nation.

The rugged, dry, collector of dates has discovered, it is true, that Buchanan was mistaken in some of his chronological statements, and, fastening upon these, and exhibiting them as unpardonable errors, consoles himself for his own want of the graces of composition, by the invidious assertion, that elegance and accuracy are incompatible. Mr. Pinkerton inveighs much against the "unchronological Buchanan," and endeavours, on all occasions, to make good this sweeping charge. It must be granted, that the chronology of Buchanan is

defective; but it ought to be considered, that, unless he had chosen to create a chronology, the fault was unavoidable in the early periods of our history; and, even after we are assisted in our inquiries by the collateral aid of foreign historians, so much uncertainty prevails as to render the dates at best but conjectural. An affectation of minute accuracy, in cases where, in the nature of things, accuracy is impossible, is always a very suspicious feature in a historian. In the later periods some confusion has arisen from the intermixture of the Roman and common mode of computing time, also from the alteration of the styles, nor are the records themselves always to be depended upon. It is therefore no mighty achievement to find out variations of dates, and we cannot allow, in such cases, the corrector always to assume that our historian must be wrong, in order that he may obtain the merit of a discovery. There are instances in which Mr. Pinkerton, and Mr. Chalmers, and even Lord Hailes, have animadverted on the inaccuracy of Buchanan, when it was, in fact, themselves that were in error.

The three first books of the history, which were written last, consist in substance of three separate preliminary dissertations, although intermixed in the discussion. The one, a geographical description of Scotland, the accuracy of which has never, I believe, been disputed. The next, an answer to Humphrey Lloyd, in which he overwhelms his antagonist with the poignancy of his wit, and the strength of his argument. But in our fastidious age, his sarcasms have been considered too contemptuous, and because we feel little of the *Amor Scotiæ*, which burned so fiercely in our forefathers' bosoms, and judge of their feelings by our own,

his warmth, in contending for what was then deemed a point of honour, has been condemned as misplaced. The last embraces the origin of the inhabitants of the British isles—the Britons, the Scots, and the Picts. In this disquisition he has collected all the ancient authorities which bear upon the subject, and to which all who treat upon it must appeal as the last resort. From their testimony he concludes, that the primitive inhabitants of Britain were sprung from the Gauls; the southern division being peopled from the coast opposite by Britons; and the northern, partly by Picts from Scythia, as Scandinavia was formerly termed, and partly by Scots from Ireland, whose inhabitants were originally named Scots, and who had emigrated thither from Spain.

The Gauls, or Celts, he asserts, from the ancient authorities which he produces, were accustomed to send out colonies to the surrounding countries—to Spain, to Germany, and to the shores of the Baltic, or Scandinavia, whose progress may be traced, not only in the direct accounts of the writers whom he quotes, but by their customs, religion, and language, of which traces may be found in the history of all these countries, and especially in the languages, the particular construction of which, in some cases, in the formation of diminutives, and the names of cities, rivers, mountains, &c., to this day remain almost unaltered.

The Picts and Scots he considers as originally the same people, sprung from a Celtic, or Gallic origin, and speaking the same tongue, which the names of numerous places, in the lands known to have been under the dominion of the Picts, and the prevalence of the Gaelic language, in districts which formed part of

their kingdom, sufficiently corroborate. And as the two nations were completely incorporated, and their speech amalgamated under Kenneth, at the date at which Buchanan's inquiry into the aborigines of Scotland must be considered to terminate, he does not enter upon the discussion of the origin of the present inhabitants of the Lowlands. But, if it be allowable to conjecture from occasional expressions where he himself is not explicit, he acquiesces in the long received opinion, that the language of the lowlands was introduced from England.

This question, involved in so much obscurity, possesses little attraction to a general reader, and the manner in which it is usually pursued, tends to diminish what little it does possess ; a keenness and partisanship distinguish the adherents of the different systems, whose acrimony so obscures their facts, and arguments, that a calm inquirer is glad to escape from the fiery disputants, and he wonders, that amid so much heat, there should be so little light ; while he cannot help being somewhat amused in observing, that with such a display of research, and such a vehemence of assertion as our later writers possess, there should be so little new, and so little certain in all that they produce. In one statement all writers agree, that the aborigines of Europe were Celts, and that, at some very early period, their language and customs predominated, from the shores of the Euxine to those of the Baltic, and the Deucalionian seas ; that throughout France, Germany, Spain, and the Cimbrian Chersonesus, traces of their footsteps may still be recognized, but that the only unmixed remains of this aboriginal people are now to be found in the Highlands of Scotland, in Wales, and in Ireland ; that

successive swarms of Cimbric and Gothic invaders exterminated, or incorporated with the primitive Celt, or Gael ; and that the descendants of this mixed multitude, form the population of modern Europe, including the Lowlands of Scotland, England, and the northern parts of Ireland.

There is then no dispute in reality between Mr. Pinkerton, the author of *Caledonia*, Mr. Macpherson, or Buchanan, about the first inhabitants of Britain ; they all allow that the Celts were the aborigines, and that the Celts, and Gauls, and Scots, were the same people ; but Mr. Pinkerton insists that his primitive Gael were long previous to any historical documents, and were driven out by a Gothic race, which Goths were the Caledonians, and these Caledonians were the Picts. His chief argument, and that which is certainly the most weighty is, that the language of the Lowlands of Scotland is of Gothic origin, and that the Lowlands of Scotland were the seat of the Picts. It must, however, be recollected that there is no authenticated record of the Pictish language remaining, but that, at Dunkeld, the capital of Caledonia, the Gaelic language has been ever spoken ; that in Inverness-shire, where was the most ancient seat of the Pictish monarchs, the case is the same ; and that the missionaries who went to the Picts from Iona, in the days of Columba, spoke Gaelic or Earse. The strong presumption, therefore, is in favour of Buchanan's hypothesis, that the Picts, or Caledonians, and the Scots, were of the same origin, and spoke the same language ; and that the introduction of the Gothic language into Scotland is of a later date.

There is another argument which deserves more

attention than has been paid to it. It is allowed that the Picts, in their progress from the north, touched at Ireland, and thence proceeded to Scotland, without having attempted any settlement in Ireland. Ireland was a better and richer country than Scotland, and either force or persuasion must have induced the Picts to leave it behind ; force does not appear to have been employed, else, from the comparatively small body of the Picts, "*longis navibus non multis*," they must have been destroyed. It therefore, follows, that they were persuaded peaceably to leave the more enticing country and settle in the bleaker. It is also allowed, that when the colony of Scots came from the overflowing population of the north of Ireland, and settled on the opposite coast, they were permitted to do so without interruption. In both cases, the intercourse was amicable and friendly ; and this mutual friendly intercourse among rude nations can only be accounted for by adopting the hypothesis of Buchanan—that their language and manners were at that time similar ; for, unless in some such circumstances, barbarians never meet without fighting.

Innes, in his Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, insists, that Buchanan wrote his History as a proof of his *De Jure Regni*, in order to make it serve the purpose of his party, and that, on purpose to establish his favourite doctrine of the responsibility of kings to their subjects, he adopted—in his Fourth Book—the list of Boece, consisting of forty, in preference to older lists, which contained forty-five kings, but were totally barren of incident ; that he did so knowing it to be false, and, therefore, did not dare to quote his authorities. But Innes was a Roman Catholic, and naturally enlisted on the side of despotic power, and the

divine right of kings, which led him to attribute motives to Buchanan, whose principles he detested, which can obtain credence from no person at all acquainted with the Historian's character. He acknowledges, however, that Buchanan in many places contradicts Boece, and has adopted none of his gross fables; and, at the same time, allows him all that praise, to which the learning and acuteness displayed in his preliminary dissertations so justly entitle him.*

Men are so much disposed to confer an imaginary magnitude on reported lost treasure, and so apt to estimate it rather by their wishes, than by any just criterion of its worth, that it is not improbable but that we may rate too highly the value of [the records of Scotland which have perished; yet it is impossible not to lament, the deep and irreparable injury done to the earlier epochs of our history, by the barbarous policy of the English Edward, and the doubt and uncertainty thrown over the subsequent periods, by the misfortunes of later times. In these circumstances, it is to be regretted, that Buchanan has not enumerated the authorities from which he derived the accounts of the first and most inextricable era of Scottish History. But in this he followed the example of ancient historians, who seldom inform their readers of the sources whence they derived their intelligence; for, having satisfied themselves of its authenticity, and being conscious of no wish to deceive, they never dreamed of supporting their veracity by an ostentatious show of evidence; and, where the sources of information are open to all, and may be readily consulted, to distract a reader's attention, by a

* Mr. Pinkerton accuses Innes of pious fraud, Enq. vol. i. p. 65; gross error, p. 122; and want of profundity, p. 198. Yet Innes is his oracle.

margin spotted with references, and lead his eye constantly from the text to the margin is unpleasant, and often betrays more pedantry than comports with the dignity of Historical writing. In narratives liable to dispute, where the story is collected from various and conflicting relations, or from dark and confused papers, the case is different, there it may be necessary, and modern example has sanctioned the practice. In the time of Buchanan it was otherwise. It is plain, however, that he must have perused and compared chronicles not now in existence, for he mentions some nowhere to be found, and the account he gives of the Scottish Monarchs before Kenneth Macalpin, corresponds exactly with no other extant at this day. As a record, therefore, of what was firmly believed by our ancestors, the enumeration he preserves of the Scottish Kings, must always be considered as an important national document. It was the list to which our forefathers appealed in every struggle for their national independence, which was produced in the contest between Baliol and Bruce, and which, however enveloped in obscurity, or liable to objection, stands, in the pages of Buchanan, ornamented and dignified with some of the finest lessons of political wisdom, and is undebased by any of those trifling puerilities, which in other chronicles, at once insult the understanding and the taste. Elegance of style, however, would be a poor substitute for truth, and in a work avowedly historical, the purest maxims of the most exalted morality, afford no recompense for fabulous interpolation in the narrative; and, could we for a moment believe, that Buchanan knew to be false what he delivered to the world with all the solemnity of veracious History, it would be difficult to

mark too strongly the baseness of the imposture. But every view of the character of the man, forbids the idea of such conduct on the part of the Historian ; and, however he may have embellished his narration by the beauties of language, he must stand acquitted of adding to the facts or the fables of the record. It must, however, be admitted, that a great degree of doubt, as well as obscurity, hangs over the whole history till the junction of the Scots and Picts ; and, that this doubt and perplexity has been considerably increased by the lists published, first by Innes, and afterward by Pinkerton. But where these lists differ from Fordun, they themselves become liable to suspicion.

The strongest argument against the existence of the first forty kings, is the fulness of the details respecting circumstances which occurred during ages when there were no writings. The names, however, might have been preserved, and perhaps some of the leading occurrences of the reigns ; which may be accounted for, from the circumstance of its being the duty of the King's Bard to keep in remembrance, and repeat at each coronation the list of the new monarch's predecessors. Such was the Duan, or Gaelic Poem, composed, or recited by the Court Bard of Malcolm III., inserted in Pinkerton's Appendix, vol. ii. But though the minute details of the exploits of a people ignorant of letters, are always to be viewed with a suspicious eye, unless corroborated by the evidence of foreigners, who have preserved written records ; yet it is the duty of a national historian to narrate what he has found written in the annals of his country, nor can the dubiety of the earlier periods detract from the credit of his recital, when he arrives at

that stage where he has the aid of sure and certain written documents.

In the grand outline of our History, wherever the aid of foreign writers can be got, we find no very essential difference between Buchanan's narrative and theirs; but it must always be remembered, that Buchanan gives only a very rapid sketch, drawn entirely from Scottish materials which are now lost. The early periods of the Roman History rest upon no better a foundation; yet who ever blames Livy for narrating them; or who ever thinks of doubting his subsequent books, though his two or three first may be deemed fabulous. From the reign of Kenneth, to Malcolm III., a considerable degree of doubt still hangs over Scottish story, but thence till the death of James IV., the truth of our History is as clear as, in the pages of Buchanan, the narrative is eloquent; and from that period till the Regency of the Earl of Marr, Buchanan himself is an original authority. His veracity, particularly with respect to the unfortunate Mary, has been questioned, but his plain tale has never been put down; and Mr. Laing has vindicated him, in his Dissertation prefixed to his History of Scotland, on the most contested points, and established his credibility beyond the imputation of a doubt.

“ The political reflections,” says Mr. Stewart, in his Dissertation on the progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy, “ before quoted, incidentally introduced by the same author [Buchanan] in his History of Scotland, bear marks of a mind worthy of a better age than fell to his lot. Of this kind are the remarks with which he closes his narrative of the wanton cruelties exercised in punishing the murderers

of James I. In reading them, one would almost think that one is listening to the voice of Beccaria, or of Montesquieu." Indeed, in general, his remarks are pregnant with the soundest political wisdom, and far outstripped the times in which he lived; and the speeches which he puts into the mouths of some of the principal characters, are as remarkable for the soundness of the principles they contain, as for the eloquence with which they are written. The propriety of framing speeches for persons in a real history, which professes to be a record of facts, has been doubted; but it was a custom borrowed from antiquity; and where the sentiments accord with the known and avowed sentiments of the speaker, it can scarcely come under the denomination of fiction, to embody them in the form of a speech, in circumstances where, it is more than probable, some such sentiments would be uttered.


The style of his history has been so often praised, that my feeble suffrage could be of little consequence. I shall, therefore, only notice a few of the passages which appear to me pre-eminently beautiful, and then use the freedom of borrowing its general character from Dr. Irvine, and the authors he has quoted in his *Life of Buchanan*, a work to which I already owe much. The first is a fine and almost poetical description of the Pentland Frith, book i. chap. 47; the animated picture of the battle of Otterburn, book ix. chap. 59—64; and the surprise of Dunbarton castle, book xx. chap. 28—33. "The style of his history," says Dr. Irvine, "betrays no symptoms of the author's old age and infirmities; it is not merely distinguished by its correctness and elegance, it breathes all the fervent animation of youthful genius. The noble ideas which so frequently

rise in his mind, he always expresses in language of correspondent dignity. His narrative is extremely perspicuous, variegated, and interesting; it is seldom deficient, and never redundant." Notwithstanding his long habits of poetical composition, he has carefully refrained from interspersing this work with phraseologies unsuitable to the diction of prose; and in the whole course of his narrative, he has only introduced a single quotation from a poet."

What particular historian, among the ancients, Buchanan had selected as a model, is a question which some learned men have not been able to determine. As a preparation for his task, he is said to have perused all the remaining books of Livy not fewer than twenty times. Rapin, the, Jesuit, represents him as a servile imitator of Livy; but this servile imitation is far from being evident to more candid critics. It was an opinion of the celebrated Andrew Fletcher, that his diction bears a nearer resemblance to that of Cæsar. Buchanan, says Le Clerc, has united the brevity of Sallust with the elegance and terseness of Livy, for these are the two authors he proposed chiefly to imitate, as they who have perused them with attention will easily recognize when they come to read the Scottish historian.

These various assertions are manifestly irreconcilable with each other; nor do they serve to evince that Buchanan had selected any particular model, but rather that he has singly rivalled the characteristic excellencies of several historians of the greatest name. The style of his history is not a borrowed style; he had formed his diction by a long familiarity with the best writers of antiquity, and his manly and delicate taste enabled him to exhibit an admirable model of his own. It is not his

chief praise that he writes like a diligent imitator of the ancients, but that he writes as if he himself were one of the ancients. Bishop Burnet has remarked, “ that his style is so natural and nervous, and his reflections on things so solid, that he is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern authors.” Lord Monboddo prefers his History to that of Livy, “ I will begin with my countryman, Buchanan, who has written the History of his own country in Latin, and in such Latin that I am not afraid to compare his style with that of any Roman historian. He lived in an age when the Latin language was very much cultivated; and among the learned it was not only the only language in which they wrote, but a living language, for they spoke no other when they conversed together, at least, upon learned subjects. In such an age, and with all the advantages of a learned education, did George Buchanan write the History of Scotland, from the earliest times down to his own time; and I hesitate not to pronounce, that the style of his narrative is better than that of Livy; for it is as pure and elegant, is better composed in periods, not intricate and involved like those of Livy, and without that affected brevity which makes Livy’s style so obscure. Even in speeches, in which Livy is supposed to excel so much, I think his composition is better, and he has none of those short pointed sentences, the vibrantes sententiolæ, which Livy learned in the school of declamation.”



THE LIFE
OF
GEORGE BUCHANAN.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF TWO YEARS BEFORE HIS DEATH.

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in a rustic hamlet on the banks of the Blane, a river in Lennoxshire, Scotland, about the beginning of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and six, and descended from a family rather ancient than opulent. His father was cut off in the prime of life by the stone, and his grandfather, who was then alive, being insolvent, the family, previously in straitened circumstances, were by this event reduced to a state of almost absolute want. By the industry, however, of their mother, Agnes Heriot, the children, five sons and three daughters, were supported till they arrived at maturity.

George, one of the sons, having while at his native school excited considerable hopes by his genius, James Heriot, his uncle, sent him to Paris, [1520.] There he prosecuted his studies, and particularly devoted himself to writing verses, partly from natural inclination, and partly from necessity, that, being one of the tasks prescribed to the students. Within two years, his uncle having died, and he himself being seized with severe

bodily distress, besides surrounded with poverty on every hand, he was forced to return to his own country. [1522.]

On his return home, after having spent nearly a year in nursing his health, from a desire to learn the military art, he joined the French auxiliaries, who had just landed in Scotland. [1523.] But, after a useless advance, the army was marched back through deep snows, in the midst of a severe winter, and he relapsed into ill health, which confined him to bed during the whole of the season.

Early next spring, [1524,] he was sent to St. Andrews, to attend John Mair, who then, in extreme old age, taught logic, or rather sophistry in that university; whom having followed, the succeeding summer, to France, he became tinged with the flame of Lutheranism, at that time [1526,] spreading every where; and, after struggling with hardships for nearly two years, was at last admitted a professor into the college of St. Barbe, where he taught grammar for nearly three years.

About this time, Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, a young nobleman who resided in that neighbourhood, [1529,] pleased with his genius and manners, retained him about him for five years, and carried him back to Scotland along with him. Afterwards, when he proposed to return to France to his old studies, he was detained by the king, and placed as tutor to James, his natural son. Meanwhile, however, an elegy, which he had composed in his leisure hours, attracted the notice of the Franciscans. In it he had represented himself as solicited in a dream by St. Francis to enter his order, and having in several stanzas expressed himself rather freely respecting the fraternity, they, notwithstanding

their professions of humility, resented, rather more keenly than was becoming in such holy fathers, this trivial offence; and when they could not find any justifiable grounds for their immoderate anger, they had recourse to the common accusation of religion, with which they threatened all who incurred their displeasure; and while they indulged their impotent spleen, they increased his indignation, already sufficiently roused, at the licentiousness of the priests, and rendered him still more partial to the Lutheran tenets.

In the midst of these transactions, [1537,] the king arrived from France, with Magdalene his wife, which somewhat alarmed the priests, who feared lest the young bride, educated under the direction of her aunt the Queen of Navarre, might effect some change in religion. But this terror speedily vanished, upon her death, which soon followed. Immediately after her death, the court suspected several noblemen of having conspired against the king, and the king, not thinking the Franciscans altogether unconnected with the plot, sent for Buchanan, who happened to be then accidentally at court; and [not] ignorant of the quarrel between him and the Franciscans, ordered him to write a satire against them. He, equally fearing to offend either, wrote a short poem, susceptible of an ambiguous interpretation, by which he satisfied neither; for the king demanded something keen and biting, and every thing appeared criminal to them, unless it were written expressly in their praise. Being therefore ordered to write more pointedly against them, he produced a rough sketch of that poem now published under the name of the Franciscan, and gave it to the king. But soon after, [1539,] learning from his friends at court, that

his life was sought after, and that Cardinal Beaton had offered a large bribe for his head, he escaped from prison, and fled towards England. Here, however, all was in such confusion, that on the same day, and in the same fire, both parties, protestant and papist, were burned together; Henry VIII., now in his old age, being more intent upon his own safety than the purity of religion. The critical situation of that country presenting little attraction, Buchanan was induced to proceed to France, on account of the many friendships he had previously formed there, and the superior civilization which distinguished the people.

On his arrival at Paris, he found his bitterest enemy, Cardinal Beaton, in the character of resident ambassador; wherefore, withdrawing from his malice, he, at the invitation of Andrew Govean, went to Bourdeaux. [1539.] At Bourdeaux he taught three years, in the schools erected in that city at the public expense; during which period he produced four tragedies, afterwards published at different times, but the one first written, *Baptistes*, was the last printed. The next, in order of composition, was the *Medea* of Euripides. He wrote these in compliance with the custom of the school, which required the exhibition of an annual play, in order that by their representation he might withdraw, as far as possible, the attention of the students from allegories, then the rage in France, to an imitation of ancient models; in which, when he succeeded far beyond his expectation, he elaborated the others, *Jephthes* and *Alcestis*, with greater care, to render them more worthy of the public approbation. Yet at that time he was kept in a state of much anxiety, owing to the threatenings of the cardinal and the Franciscans, the

cardinal having even sent letters to the archbishop of Bourdeaux, desiring his apprehension, which, by the greatest good fortune, were delivered to Buchanan's most intimate friends. But the death of the king of Scots, and the plague that desolated Aquitaine, dispelled this fear. [1542.]

While Buchanan resided at Bourdeaux, Govean received commands from the king of Portugal, to bring with him teachers, skilled in Greek and Roman literature, to read lectures on the liberal arts, and the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, in the university which he had then founded with great care and expense. When informed of this proposal, Buchanan readily complied with an invitation, for, the whole of Europe being either engaged or threatened with foreign or domestic wars, Portugal appeared the only corner likely to be free from tumults; and, with that company who had undertaken the same expedition, he imagined the journey would appear rather like an excursion of friends, than an emigration to a foreign country. There were, besides, many celebrated writers of that number, with whom he had been long in habits of intimacy—Nicolas Gruchius, William Garentaeus, James Tevius, and Elias Vinetus—on which account he not only cheerfully united himself, but also persuaded his brother Patrick to join so brilliant an assemblage. At first all succeeded delightfully, till Govean was suddenly cut off by a death, not immature for himself, but distressing to his companions.

Immediately on Govean's decease, [1548,] all their enemies and rivals, at first secretly, and then openly and virulently attacked them. Having been privately interrogated by judges exceedingly inimical to the ac-

cused, three of their number were arrested, who, after long confinement in a dungeon, were brought to trial, where, having for several days suffered the most cruel reproaches, they were again remanded to prison; no accusers were even named. Towards Buchanan in particular their conduct was most bitterly tormenting, for he was a stranger who had few to rejoice in his safety, sympathize in his misfortunes, or who would move a step to avenge his injuries.

One crime with which he was charged, was a poem, which he had written against the Franciscans, which he himself, before he left France, had taken care to get explained to the king of Portugal, and which his accusers knew nothing at all about, for the only copy he had ever parted with, was to the king of the Scots, by whose command it had been written. He was also accused of having eaten flesh during Lent, when nobody in all Spain abstains from it. Certain reflections upon the monks were also urged against him, which could have appeared criminal to no one, but to monks themselves. It was likewise deemed an heinous offence, because, in a conversation with some young Portuguese, when the Eucharist was mentioned, he said it appeared to him that Augustine seemed rather to favour the party condemned by the church of Rome. Two other witnesses, John Talpin, a Norman, and John Ferrerius, a Piedmontese—as he learned some years after—gave evidence that they had heard several creditable persons affirm, that Buchanan entertained sentiments opposed to the Romish religion. But to return to the narrative.

When the Inquisition had fatigued both themselves and him nearly a year and a half, at last, that they

might not seem wantonly to have harassed a man of some reputation, they shut him up for some months in a monastery, to be more strictly instructed by the monks, some of whom were neither altogether deficient in humanity, learning, or morals, but all were totally destitute of religion. [1551.] During this confinement he chiefly employed himself in versifying a number of the Psalms of David, in a variety of measures.

At length, having been restored to liberty, when he requested passports from the king to return to France, his majesty desired him to remain in Portugal, and, in the meantime, allowed him a small sum for his daily expenses, until he should procure him some more honourable situation. But tired with waiting without any certain prospect, he embarked on board a Candian vessel, then lying at the port of Lisbon, and sailed for England, where, however, he did not remain, although invited to accept of some honourable employment; for that country was then distracted, under the government of a young king, by the dissensions of the nobles, and the restlessness of the people, still unsettled after the recent civil commotions. [1552.] He therefore proceeded to France, where he arrived about the time the siege of Metz was raised, [1553,] and was constrained by his friends, to write a poem on the occasion, which he did with reluctance, being unwilling to enter into competition with a number of his acquaintance, particularly Melin de St. Gelais, whose learned and elegant eulogy was at that time in circulation.

Thence he was called, [1553,] to Italy, by Charles de Cosse, Count de Brissac, who then presided with great reputation, over the Genoese and French territories about the Po, and for upwards of five years resided

occasionally in Italy and in France, superintending the education of his son, Timoleon, till the year one thousand, five hundred, and sixty. A great part of this time he devoted to the study of the Holy Scriptures, that he might be able to judge correctly respecting those controversies which occupied the greater part of the world, and then began to be set at rest in his own country, now liberated from the tyranny of the Guises. Having returned thither, he joined the Scottish Church.

A number of his early writings he recovered as from shipwreck, and published; the rest, which are still scattered in the hands of his friends, he commits to the chances of fortune.

Though broken with the infirmities of age, and longing for his expected haven, he still superintends the education of James VI. King of the Scots, with which he was intrusted.

Buchanan wrote the above at the request of his Friends.

He died at Edinburgh, a little past five o'clock in the morning, on Friday, 28th September, 1582.

The dates in this Life are not always to be depended on; they appear to have been added by the Editor, as they are not embodied in the narrative, but inserted in the margin.

APPENDIX.

BUCHANAN'S TESTAMENT DATIVE.

(From the Records of the Commissary Court.)

Maister
George Buchannane
Vigesimo Febrⁱⁱ
1582.

The Testament Datiue, & Inuentar of
ye gudis, geir, soumes of money, &
dettis, pertening to vmquhile ane
rycht venerabill man, Maister George
Buchannane, preceptour to ye kingis
majestie the tyme of his deceis,
quha deceist vpoun ye xxix day of Sep-
tember, the zeir of God j^m v^c lxxxii
zeris, faithfullie maid & gevin vp be
Jonet Buchannane, relict of vmquhile
Mr Thomas Buchannane of Ibert, his
bruyer sone, executrix datiue, decernit
to him be decreit of ye commissaris of
Ed^r as ye same decreit of ye dait ye
xix day of Decembir, the zeir of God
foirsaid, at lenth proportis.

In the first, ye said vmquhile Maister George Buchannane,
preceptour to ye kingis majestie, had na uyer gudis nor geir
(except ye dett vndirwrittin) pertening to him as his awin
proper dett ye tyme of his deceis foirsaid: viz. Item, yair wes
awand to ye said vmquhile Mr George be Robert Gourlaw,
custumar burges of Ed^r for ye defunctis pensioun of Cors-
raguell, restand of ye Witsonday terme in anno j^m v^c lxxxii
zeris, the soume of ane hundreth pundis.

Summa of ye inuentar j^c l.

No diuisioun.

Quhairof ye quot is gevin gratis.

Quotta
gratus.

We, Maisteris Eduard Henrysoun, Alex^r Sym, & Johne Prestoun, commissaris of Ed^r specialie constitut for confirmation of testamentis, &c. vnderstanding yat efter dew summondung & lauchfull warning maid be forme of editt oppenlie, as efferis, of ye executouris intromettouris with ye gudis & geir of vmquhile Mr George Buchannane, & of uyeris hafand entreis, to compeir judicialie befoir us at ane certane day bypast, to heir & sie executouris datiuis decernit to be gevin, admittit, & confermit be us in & to ye gudis & geir quhilk justlie pertenis to him ye tyme of his deceis, or ellis to schaw ane caus quhy, &c. we decernit yairintill as our decreit gevin yairupoun beris; conforme to ye quhilk we in our soverane lordis name & autoritie makis, constitutis, ordanis, & confermes ye said Jonet Buchannane in executorie datiuie to ye said Mr George, with power to hir to intromet, vptak, follow & persew, as law will, ye dett & soume of money abone specifieit, & yairwith outred dettis to creditouris, and generalie all & sindrie vyer thingis to do, exerce, & vse yat to ye office of executorie datiuie is knawin to pertene; prouiding yat ye said Jonet, executrix foirsaid, sall ansuer & render compt vpoun hir intromissioun quhan and quhair ye samin salbe requirit of hir, & yat ye said dett and soume salbe furthcumand to all parteis haifand entres, as law will; quhairvpoun scho hes fundin cautioun, as ane act maid yairvpoun beris.

CHAMÆLEON,

WRITTEN BY MR GEORGE BUCHANAN AGAINST THE LAIRD
OF LIDINGTON.

THAIR is a certane kynd of beist callit Chamæleon, engenderit in sic countreis as the sone hes mair strenth in than in this yle of Brettane, the quhilk, albeit it be small of corporance, noghttheless it is of ane strange nature, the quhilk makis it to be na less celebrat and spoken of than sum besitis of greittar quantitie. The proprieties is marvalous, for quhat thing evir it be applicat to, it semis to be of the samyn cullour, and imitatis all hewis, excepte onelie the quhyte and reid; and for this caus anciene writtaris commonlie comparis it to ane flatterare, quhilk imitatis all the haill maneris of quhome he fenzeis him self to be freind to, except quhyte, quhilk is taken to be the symbol and token gevin commonlie in devise of cullouris to signifie sempilnes and loyaltie, and reid signifying manliness and heroyicall courage. This applicatioun being so usit, zit peradventure mony that hes nowther sene the said beist, nor na perfyte portraict of it, wald beleif sic thing not to be trew. I will thairfore set furth schortlie the descriptioun of sick an monsture not lang ago engendrit in Scotland, in the cuntre of Lowthiane, not far frome Hadingtoun, to that effect that the forme knawin, the moist pestiferus nature of the said monsture may be moir easelie evitit: for this monsture being under coverture of a manis figure, may easeliar endommage and wers be eschapid than gif it wer moir deforme and strange of face, behaviour, schap, and membris. Praying the reidar to apardoun the febilnes of my waike spreit and engyne, gif it can not expreme perfytelie ane strange creature, maid by nature, other willing to schaw hir greit strenth, or be sum accident turnit be force frome the common trade and course. This monsture being engenderit under the figure of a man chyld, first had ane proprietie of nature, flattering all manis ee and sensis that beheld it, so that the common peiple wes in gude hoip of greit vertuus to prosper with the time in it; other ferdar seing of greit harmes and dampnage to cum to all that sould be familiarlie acquentit with it. This monsture promovit to sic maturitie of aige, as it could easelie flatter and

imitat every manis countenance, speche, and fashions, and subtill to draw out the secreittis of every manis mynd, and depravat the counsellis to his awin proper gayne, enterit in the court of Scotland the , and having espyit out not onelie factiouns bot singular personis, addressit the self in the begyning to Iames efter erll of Murray, and Gilbert than erll of Cassillis, men excellent in the tyme, in all vertuus per-teining to ane nobill man, and speciall in lufe of the common welth of thair cuntre: and seing that his nature could not bow to imitat in veritie, but onely to contrafat fenzeitlie the gudnes of thir two personis, nor zit change them to his nature, thocht expedient to leane to thame for a tyme, and clym up be thair branches to hiear degre, as the wod bind clymeth on the oik, and syne with tyme distroyis the tre that it wes supported be. So he having cum to sum estimatioun throw hanting of thir nobill lordis (quha wer than estemit of every man as thair vertuus meritit) wes sone be gud report of thame, and ane fenzeit gudnes in him self, put in credeit with the quene regent, verelie an nobill lady and of greit prudence, bot zit could not espy the gilt vyces under cullour of vertew hid in the said monsture, speciallie being cloikit be favour of the two forsaid lordis, in quhais company hir grace wald nevir have belevit that sic ane pestilent verm could have bene hyd. The first experience the said quene had of him wes in sending him to France for certane bissines occurrent for the tyme, quhair he did his commissioun sa weill to his awin intention, and sa far from the quenis mynd, that he dissavit the cardinall of Lorayne; quha, untill that day, thocht him self not only auld praticien, bot als maister, zea doctour *subtilis*, in sic matters of negociatioun. His fals dealing being sone persavit, and he greitlie hatit, zit sche being ane lady of greit prudence, could not defend hir self from subtilltie, bot within schort tyme, be meanis of sic as belevit him to be thair friend, he crap in credence agane be ane other dur, and under ane other cullour: bot zit could not sa weill as he wald, invent new falshead, because of the auld suspitioun, and being of auld suspectit, sone persavit, and in dangerie to be taken reid hand and puneist efter his meritis, he fled out of Leyth, and coverit himself with the cloik of religioun sa lang as it could serve,

bot nevir sa closse bot he keepit ane refuge to sum sanctuarie of the Papistis, gif the court had changeit; as to the bischoppis of Santandrois and Glasgow, and utheris diverse, quhais causis wer in his protectioun: and thairfore the haly Doctour Cranstoun deplit to him largelie of the spoyle of Sanct Salvatoris College, and wes mantenit be Chamæleon aganis al law and ressoun; beside that he wes ane man contaminat in all kynd of vycis. How far afoir the cumming hame of the quene the kingis moder, he wes contrary to all hir actiouns, and favourabill to hir adversaries, and inclynit to hir deprivation, it is notourlie knawin bayth in Ingland and Scotland, be sic as mellit than with the affairis of the estait in bayth the realms. Efter the quenis cumming hame he enterit schortlie be changeing of cullouris, and turning out the other syde of his cloik, and halding him be the branches of the erll of Murray, and for ane tyme applying him to the quenis G. heir, that he allone wes hard in all secreit matteris, casting of lytill and lytill the erll of Murray, and thinking that he wes strang anewch to stand by himself, on leaning to the erll of Murray. And becaus the erll of Murray plesit not mony interprysis of mariage than attemptit, as with the princes of Spayne, with the duke of Anjou, with the empriaris brother, the said Chamæleon applyit himself to all thir partiis, and changeing hew as the quene sweyt the ballance of hir mynd, and followit the appetyte of hir lust. And at lang the quene, be avyis of hir oncles, devysit to destroy the erll of Murray, thinking him to be ane greit brydill to refrane hir appetitis, and impediment to leif at libertie of hir plessoure; not that evir he usit ony violence anentis hir, bot that his honestie wes sa greit that sche wes eschamit to attempt ony thing indecent in his presence. Sche than being deliberat to distroy him be the erll of Huntlie, went to the north, and he in hir company and howbeit the tressoun was oppynnit planelie, and Johnne Gordoun lying not far of the town [Aberdeen] with an greit powar, and the erll of Murray expresslie ludgeit in an hous separate frae all uther habitatioun, and his deid be diverse wayis socht; this Chamæleon, quhether of sempilnes, or for layk of foirsicht, or for bauldness of courage, I refer to every manis conscience that doith knaw him, he alone could

se no tressoun, could feare no dangear, and wald nevir beleif that the erll of Huntlie wald take on hand sic ane interpryis, howbeit thair wes gevin advertisement of it out of Ingland and France, letteres taken declarand it, and the mater manifest before all menis ene. It wer to lang to reherse, and not verie necessar for the present, it being knawin to sa mony, quhat diverse purposis wer tane, quhat dangearis eschapit all the tyme of that voyage, untill the quene come to Abirdene again, and how miraculous wes the victorie; bot ane thing is not to be pretermittit, that the said Chamæleon wes ane of the reddiest to gnaw the bainis of the deid, to spoyle the qwyck, and mak his proffeit at that marcat. Efter this the oursey trafficque of mariage growing cald, the said Chamæleon going in Ingland, delt sa betuix the Protestantis and Papistes, that he changeit dalie colouris, sumtyme flattering the ane, sumtyme the other, and making every ane of thame beleif that he labourit onelie for thame; and amangis other thingis, be ane prevy intelligence with the quene and verre few of the nobilitie, practizit the mariage of the quene and Henry Lord Dernlie, of the quhilk he mad nevir the erll of Murray prevy, untill all wes endit. Howbeit the erll of Murray did nevir thinge, nor tuke nevir propose without his advise and counsale. Heir the mater quhilk he had raschellie brocht on, wes neir the point. Seing that the quene of Ingland dissagreit with it for certane respectis, and the lordis of Scotland for the cause of the religioun, to the mantenance of the quhilk thay dessyrit an promeis of the quene and the said Lord Dernlie, the Chamæleon in secreit flatterit the quene, and openlie tuke the cullour of religioun: and at the lang (seing my lord of Murray, for being precise and plane in all doingis, cast out of court) cled himself onelie in the quenis cullouris, untill that David prevalit agains him, and had in a manner the haille credeit of all wechtie materis. At this poynt thinking himself in werse caise than he beleivit, socht to make an other change of court, and set up new play again, awaytit on the court sumpart disgracit, louking for sum new cullour to apply himself to. In this mene tyme the quene seking to move sum thing in the religioun, made ane querrell agains certaine lordis of the principallis of Scotland, the quhilkis, albeif that ane ressonabill

power faillit thame not, and that the favouir of the cuntre wes for thame, zit to schaw thair innocency, quhen thai could not breke the quenis obstinat mynd of thair destructioun be prayer and sollicitacioun of freindis, thay left the cuntre and went in Ingland, zit Chamæleon held the small grip that he had in court, secunding to David. In this mene tyme the parliament set to forfalt sick lordis as had fled in Ingland, except the duke, quha did be intercessioun of silver by his remissioun fra David. The rest of the lordis quhilk were of wisdome or estimatioun, partlie requirit be the king, quha wes in na credit in respect of David, partlie for thair awin libertie, conspyrit the deid of the said David, and executit the same. Chamæleon, cheifest enemy to David, efter the kingis grace, zit not being advertisit be the lordis of thair enterprise, and suspectit of the quene, knawing his dowbilness, quhyther for verie feare, or preparing ane entre to the quenis favour, fled as uthers did; and eftir lang fechtis brocht agane to the court, kest clene frae him all cullouris of the kingis, and cled him agane in the quenis cullouris, and wes ane of the principal instrumentis that inressit dissensioun betwix hir and the king: the quhilk practize, howbeit he wald have dissimulatit, sum tyme brake out with him; as to ane nobill woman praying *God to gif the king and the quene grace to agre*, he answerit, *God let thame never agre*: for thay leving in dissensioun, he thocht that his dowbilnes could not be espyit out. And than seing the Erll Bothuile cum in credeit, he flatterit him; and evin as they agreit in all pointis to put down the king, seing that he prospering thay could have na lyff, sa eftir the king deid, the Erll Bothuile, having in that practize knawin his falset, and fearing his inconstancy, and desyring to be deliverit of sic an witnes, socht his deid: and he having na refuge to the quene for the samyn cause, tuke for a tyme the erll of Mortonis cullouris, and being borne furth be him agains the erll of Bothuiles power and hatrent, sa lang as he wes in feare lurkit under the erll of Mortonis wingis, and the feir past schew himself the said erllis enemy: and having no sufficient cause, nor appearand indice of separatioun of company and kyndnes, he fenzeit that the said erll of Mortun had conspyrit his deid, to be execute by some of the erllis friendis; and to prove the said conspiracy,

alledgit an famous witnes, (*majorem omni exceptione*) the nobill and virtuus Lady Gyltoun. Now to returne agane to our propose, efter the deid of the king devysit be him, executit be the Erll Bothuile, for feir of the said erll he lurkit a quhile out of court, untill the tyme the quene at Carberrie-Hill come to the lordis, and the Erll Bothuile fled to Dunbar. Than he come to parliament, and with sum otheris participant of the kingis slaughter, wald have had the quene slane be act of parliament; and not finding mony "consenting thairto, and speciallie the erll of Murray, than chosen regent, being in the contrair, he sollicitat sum previe men to gar hang hir on hir bed with hir awin belt, that be that way he and his partinaris in the kingis murthoure mycht be deliverit of an witsnesse; knowing weill the quenis nature, that quhen she wes miscontent of ony man, sche wald tell all sic secrettis as sche did knaw of him. This propose not proceeding as he desyrit, he turnit him first in flattering with the quene, and send to hir, being in Lochlevin, ane picture of the deliverance of the lyoun by the mouse; and nist turnit his haill wit to the destruction of the erll of Murray, thinking that the wickit could not proffeit greitly, so just a man having the supreme power; and als seing that the quenis craftiness wes abill at the lang to overthrow the erll of Murrays sempilnes. So he bendit all his wittis to the said erllis eversoun, and the quenis restitution, and procedit in this cause, partlie be making an factioun of the counsalleris, and partakeris of the kingis murthoure, of men lycht of fantasie and covatous of geir; partlie be correpting of my lord of Murrays freindis and servandis, and travellit principallie with the laird of Grange, thinking that it sould be an greit strenth to the factioun, to have the castell of Edinburgh at thair command. The regent being divers tymes advertiset of thir practizis, wes of so upright nature, that he wald beleif na thing of ony that he had takin in freindschip, quhilk he wald not have done himself; and als mony of the factioun in the begyning thocht it had bene bot ane ligue defensive againis the power of the great, that is accustomat to overthrow the small in tyme of troubill.

In this mene tyme come the deliverance of the quene out of Lochlevin, the quhilk he wes not ignorant of, and specially

be the meanis of his cousing Johne Hamiltoun of the Cochnoch [al. Coheugh]: zit he tareit with the regent to keip ane cullour of honestie, and that with the quenis consent, quha had given him, and divers otheris that were in my lord of Murrayis company, fre remissioun for all by past.

Bot the battel chansing utherwaies than he desyrit and belevit, zit he persistit in his propose to destroy the regent, not opinlie, bot be secreit meanis: as being sent divers tymes to commune with the Lord Flemyng, evir did the contrair of the propose that he wes send for, and evir tendit to hald the cuntre in unquietnes; and in all assembleis for appointment, tendit to have all by past remittit, to keip ay thevis and revaris in courage, and to abase the hartis of trew subjectis, that sould haif na hoip of redresse of wrangis done to thame be the kingis rebellis. Efter that, be the dilligence and wisdome of the regent, the cuntre wes brocht to sum stay, and justice lyke to haif the over hand, the kingis rebellis purchassit at the quene of Inglandis handis, that sche sould consider the greit wrangis (as thai said) done to hir nixt nyctbour, and being nixt of blude to hir, and outhir be hir requeist or puissance caus hir be restorit agane to her former autoritie. The quenis majestie of Ingland having zit no less regaird to justice nor to consanguinitie, desyrit some of the principallis of the nobilitie to repair to hir or hir deputties for thir requeistis and complayntis, and my lord deliberat to go in persoun wes in doubt, having ellis enterit in sum suspicionis of this Chamæleon, quhethir he sould tak him with himself, or leif him beheind: for taking him he doubtit not bot he wald hinder the actioun in all maner possibill, and leaving him behind, that following his natural complexioun he wald trubill the cuntre, in sic maner that it sould not be easilie in lang tyme brocht to rest agane. At lang having deliberat to take him with him, and perswadit him bayth be giftis of landis and money, he fand to be trew in deid all that he suspectit afore; for everie nycht in a maner he communicat all that wes amangis us with sum of our adversaris, and armit thame sa far as he could agains the said regent. Bot the force of the ressonis, and cleirnes of the haill deduction of the caus that my lord regent usit, wes sa perswasive to the auditouris, that be Chamæleonis

advertisement, the kingis mother disschargeit hir commisioners to proceed forther, and differrit to ane mair commodious tyme for hir: for it wes weill knawin to hir that the quenis majestie of Ingland and hir counsall had allowit the said regentis procedingis; and the ambassadour of Spayne seing the horribill cryme sa abhominabill to all honest men, refused to speik ane word in the mater, and the Frensche ambassadour excusit himself that he spake be command of [his] maister.

In this mene tyme the said Chamæleonis secreit practize with the duke of Norffolk, suspectit afore, begouth to brek out be sum letters of Maister Johne Lessleis callit bischope of Ross, and als be the duke himself, put in hoip of mariage of the Scottis quene be thame, the quhilk practize wes handillit: sumpart putting feir to the regent, that he could not returne in Scotland with his lyff without the dukis favour, be reassoun of greit preparationis that wes maid aganis the regent on bayth the bordoris of Scotland and Ingland: partlie be tempting of the said regentis mynd, quha answerit to the duke of Norffolk, *That he wald be glad that the quene recognoscing hir falt, and repenting, sould marry ony gude Christian man of nobill house.* The rumour of this dealing wes sa openelie spoken in the court of Ingland, that the quenis majestie wes constraynit to wryte to hir lieutenantis to mak the regent be put sauf in Scotland; and sa he wes without any recounter, bot of the erll of Westmureland not far frome Durame, quho seing the regentis company, and ryding throw thame, thocht not best to matche with thame. The next assemble wes at Glasgow, quhair the Hamiltonis bragging, bot could not be party, be meanis of him and otheris thair favoureris with the regent, wer ressavit to sic an appointment as wes greitlie to thair advantage, and the said regentis dissadvantage. And quhen thai sould haif gevin pledgis to performe the said appointment, as wes compromittit, they did bot seke delay; and so the principallis of thame [wer] committit to ward in the castell of Edinburgh. The haill mater wes secreitlie handillit be the Chamæleon. The quhilk handilling apperit more panielie at an conventioun at Sanctandros; quhair thair wes twa headis principallie disputit: first, *Gif, the erll of Huntlie sould haif general re-*

missioun for all reif and oppressioun done be him and his freindis in all tymes bypast ; or, gif the kingis actioun pardonit, prevat men sould have actioun to crave thair awin geir : nixt, Gif the erll of Huntleis haill assisstaris sould be comprehendit in ane remissioun with him. The quhilk twa headis the Chamæleon and his complices preassit ernstly be all meanis to be ressavit, as said is, and that not without boisting of Franche men and Spanzaris, and mony uther inconvenientis ; and all this done to disscourage the kingis trew liegis, and lychtning the hartis of rebellis in hoip of impunitie of all wrongis that thai sould do in tyme to come, and to hald the haill cuntre in rebelloun and inquietnes, to consume at the lang the regent, quhilk thai knew to be puir of substance and liberall of courage. And zit were not thir thingis mair subtilly devysed, nor thai wer constantlie resistit be the regent and his trew counsall. And seing that thai could not come to thair propose this way, thai causit new articles to be devisit in Ingland, towching the quenis cuming hame: to the quhilk albeit thair wes sufficient answer mad in London, zit for the samyne caus wes devysit ane assemble of lordis in Sanct Johnestoun, with and additioun of ane commissioun of divorcement of the Erll Bothuile and the quene, and to the effect of the haill, many writingis [wer] purchassit of boith wise men and greit men of Ingland, schawing planelie that it wes ane foly to Scotland to presse to resist the mariage betwix the quene and duke of Norffolk ; for it wes devysit be sic wisdom, and to be executit with sic force, as Scotland wes not abill to resist ; and not without consent of the quenis majestie of Ingland. Heir, albeit Chamæleon and all his quhelpis ragit nevir sa fast, the contrair wes concludit, and schawen to the quenis grace of Ingland be Alexander Hume, gentleman of my lord regentis hous. And becaus the quenis majestie wes not fully satisfieit at that tyme, ane uther convocation wes hald at Stirling, to the quhilk the Chamæleon, assurit of my lord regentis clemencie, and proude in his awin consait, bot feiring for his demeritis, efter sum dubitatioun come to Stirling ; and wes in doubt not without caus. For about this tyme, my lord regent, advertisit that the Hamiltonis had decreitit to murthoure him, he schew bayth the taill and the authour to the Chamæleon, of the quhilk the Chamæleon

reprovit vehemently the Hamiltonis that could not keip thair counsals mair secret; and this advertising being schawin be sum of the Hamiltonis to my lord regent, zit he sufferit patientlie. At Stirling the articles being declarit at greiter lenth, the Chamæleon wes attecheit be justice, and chargit of the kingis murthoure, the quhilk grievit him havelie, and presit at my lord regentis hand the cryme to be changeit, and he to be accusit of the troubles lyke to ryis in England and Scotland through the forspoken mariage; for he thocht that mater to be consavit and devysit sa substantiallie, that nouthur force nor wit could maik impediment to the performance of it, and belevit suirle that sic ane cryme sould redound to his greit prayse and opinioun of wisdom. This not obteinit, he obtainit aganis all the said regentis freindis will, to be send to ward in the castell of Edinburgh; quahir he wrocht aganis the nature of the Chamæleon, for he changeit the greitar part of thame of the castell to his cullour sa weill, that the conspiracy of the regentis deid, lang afoir consavit, wes than brocht to effect. Eftir the quhilk he wrocht be sic meanis, that he perswadit the haill lordis than present in Edinburgh to be enlargit of his ward, under promeis to compeir and answer to the cryme of the kingis murthoure layd to his charge, at sic day as he sould be callit, and under hoip to be an gude instrument of concord amangis the lordis; and ane day prolongit to sic of the Hamiltonis as wald purge thame sellfis of the murthoure of the regent unto the first day of Maii: but sone being adjoint with uthers of his factioun, he changeit that cullour, and perswadit utheris complices of the murthoure for feir, and sum sempill persones be ane fals cullour of proffeit, to convene to an schorter day, viz. the tent day of Apryle, assuring thame that the castell (as it wes) being thairs, and the town als, (for the capitane of the castell wes proveist) that this rumour sould caus mony to convene to thame, and thair adversaris dissgracit sould haif na place to convene togidder; and that the quene of England, troublit alreddy with civile warre at hame, mycht the mair eselie condescend to that syde, wrait to hir letteres partlie flattering, partlie threitning; and to schaw hir thair greit power, send ane roll of the lordis of thair syde, quharin wes comprehendit sum lordis neutrallis, and mony of the ad-

versaries, beleving that lewis maid in Scotland could not be tryit in London. And seing that the town of Edinburgh could not be perswadit to rebell with thame, and that the cuntre convenit not as thai hoipit, and the breking of the borders succedit not to thair proffeit, the most part flittit camp, and went to Lynlythquow, and thair set furth thair proclamatioun dytit be Chamæleon (as wes afore the erll of Westmuirlandis second proclamatioun) and thairby set up the quenis authoritie, quhairof he (tarreing in the castell of Edinburgh) keptit himself clene, as Pilat wesching his handis of the deid of Chryst. And sens that tyme, as afore, this gud subjecte and servand to the kingis grace confortit with counsale, and conveyit out of the cuntre the rebellis of Ingland, the samyne being enemies to the king of Scotland; and prattit proudlie, vantage that his pen sould be worth ten thousand men; and threitnit schamefullie (gif he had reservit any schame) the quenis majestie of Ingland with wordis of quhilk the memory sould be rather abolishit be punitioun of him, than rehersit for thair impudencie; and feirit not to maik sa opin a leye to nobillmen of Ingland, as that the kingis trew subjectis acknowledging his authoritie wer not able to assembl togidder fyve hundred horse, quhair thai saw, within few days, moir than fyve thousand assemblit out of ane cornar of Scotland. And ay sensyne he hes bene at all convocationis of the kingis professit enemies in Scotland, in Dunkeld, in Athol, in Strabogie, in Braidalbine, and ellis quhair, and kepis contrebank to Mr Johne Lesslie of Kingusce, in all directionis to put the king out of his estait, his realme, and at lenth out of this erdlie lyffe.

Now, I pray you, espy out quhat proffeit the quene, our kingis modder, sall gadder of him that hes bene (as sche knawis) so oftentyme traitour to hir modder, to hir selfe, to hir sone, to hir brother, and to hir cuntre. Sche will be exemplis considder, that how mony cullouris that evir this Chamæleon change, that it can nevir, againis the nature of it, turne perfytely quhyte.

Respice finem,

Respice finem.

DEDICATION
TO JAMES VI.

KING OF THE SCOTS.

WHEN, after a wandering of twenty-four years, I at last returned to my native land, my first object was to collect and revise my writings, dispersed by the malignity of past times, and injured besides, in a variety of ways; for I found the too officious kindness of my friends, who hurried an immature publication in some cases, and the unjustifiable license of printers, who assumed the office of censors, and altered according to their fancies in others, had frequently changed, and, in several instances, vilely corrupted my meaning.

While I was engaged in remedying these disadvantages, suddenly the entreaties of my friends overturned all my plans; for, as if they had entered into a conspiracy, they all with one voice, exhorted me to desist from sporting with trifles, which rather please the ear than instruct the mind, and engage in writing the History of our nation; for this was an employment becoming my age, and the expectations of my countrymen; nor was there any other subject more praiseworthy, or more likely to confer a lasting reputation. But besides other considerations, they urged, that as our Britain is the most celebrated island in the world, whose history embraces transactions memorable in every respect, you will scarcely find in any age, a writer who has dared to encounter, or been able to accomplish such an undertaking. It was likewise no trifling inducement, the idea, that my work would neither be unnecessary, nor unacceptable to you; for, it appeared to me

ridiculous and shameful, that you, who at your tender age have read the histories of almost every other nation, and retain a great many of them in your memory, should, in some measure, be a stranger at home. Besides, as an incurable state of health prevents me from attending to the cultivation of your genius, intrusted to my care, I have considered it my next duty to apply to that species of writing, calculated to improve the mind, that I might, as much as possible, supply my own deficiency, by sending to you faithful monitors from history, whose counsel may be useful in your deliberations, and their virtues patterns for imitation in active life. There are among your ancestors, men illustrious in every path of fame, of whom their posterity may be justly proud; and, to pass over other instances, in no human record will you find a royal character comparable to our King David.

But, if the Divine goodness so distinguished him, not only in the most wretched, but the most flagitious times, we may with justice, hope that you too will be, as the Royal Prophet says, a standard by which mothers will regulate their vows when they pray for blessings to their children; and that this government, now hastening to anarchy and ruin, may be checked in its career, and preserved till, at the time appointed in the eternal decree, it terminate at the final consummation of all human institutions.

Edinburgh, August 27th.

THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book I.

HAVING resolved to free our ancient history from the uncertainty of fable, and rescue it from unmerited oblivion, I conceived it not foreign to my purpose to commence with a description from the earliest period—as far at least as the distance of time, the want of original records, and afterwards their misfortunes, permit—of the regions which lie between Spain and Germany, along a great extent of the French coast, and which the ancients call BRITANNIÆ;* their geographical situation, their soil and climate; what were their oldest names and customs, and who were their primitive inhabitants. Two of these islands, Albium and Hibernia, far exceed the rest in magnitude, I shall, therefore, first describe them, and afterwards, as opportunity offers, give some account of the others.

CHAP. I. The chief in size is Albium, which now alone retains the name of Britain, formerly common to the whole.

* The most ancient names of the islands of Britain and Ireland, are supposed to have been CASSITERIDES, *isles of tin*. For the Phœnicians traded hither for that metal, from their settlements in Africa and Spain: it is used by Herodotus, says Mr. Pinkerton, and is derived from *κασσα* meretrix, a courtesan, tin being chiefly used as mock silver, in the meretricious ornaments of these women, Enq. vol. i. chap. 1. It never was, however, generally adopted, and is by some, and with greater likelihood, supposed to have belonged rather to the Scilly Isles, on the coast of Cornwall, or some islands on the coast of Spain, near Cape St. Vincent. Hist. Antiq. Brit. p. 45. Ledwich, Irish Antiq. chap. 2.

Respecting its length and breadth, almost all writers agree with Cæsar,* estimating the length, from north to south, at 800 miles, and the breadth, where it is widest, which some think the part opposite France, and others that space between St. David's Head, [South Wales] and Yarmouth, [Norfolk] at about 200 miles; thence it becomes gradually narrower, until it approaches the borders of Scotland.

The Romans, before they were acquainted with the more distant parts of the island, believed it to be triangular; but when they by degrees penetrated northward, they discovered that beyond the wall of Hadrian,† it became gradually broader, and stretched out far towards the east. The climate, according to Cæsar, is more temperate than that of Gaul, and Ireland is yet kindlier than either; the sky is rarely serene, being often obscured by dense mists, but the winter is generally mild, the rain falling in greater proportion than the snow. The soil is fertile in corn, supports every where abundant herds of cattle, and is, besides, rich in all kinds of metals. The inhabitants of the remote parts of the island, which are the coldest, use bread made of oatmeal, and a spirit, or wine, extracted from malted corn; but many boil the whey of milk, which they preserve, by burying in the earth for some months, in large wooden vessels, and this they prefer, not only as a wholesome, but a delightful beverage.

II. Concerning the name of Britain, there was no controversy among the ancients, excepting that the Greeks called it Brettania, and the Latins Britannia, the rest of the nations imitating the one or the other as they felt inclined. Of late, however, some authors have arisen, more desirous of contention than truth, who, by blackening the most illustrious reputations, imagine they brighten their own, and think it impossible, that the fame of immense erudition can be refused, by the vulgar at least, to men who dare to contend with all antiquity; and, although the dispute be about a matter of no

* The size of Britain is inaccurately given by Cæsar, the length being upwards of one hundred miles less than he makes it, and the breadth nearly two hundred more; from the Lizard, the southernmost point, to Duncansby Head, the northernmost, it is scarcely seven hundred miles.

† By mistake printed Adrian in several editions.

great consequence, yet because the name alone of their country is involved, they think they must fight as if their altars, and their homes, and all the pristine glory of their nation were at stake. Three ancient names, as they are pleased to call them of the island, Prudania, Prytaneia, and Britannia, have, it would seem, each their separate assertors. Lloyd* furiously declares for Prudania, Sir Thomas Elliot, a British Knight, more modestly contends for Prytaneia, almost every other person endeavours to retain Britannia.

III. In favour of Prudania Lloyd appeals to the authority of a certain old fragment, which mould, dust, and age, have rendered sacred; and this evidence, so convincing in itself, he confirms by etymology; by the songs of the bards; by the common language of the country; and by a species of venerable antiquarian rust. But as a primary question, I would ask, Whence comes this fragment, the pillar and support of the cause? When or by whom was it produced? What does it say, or how does it bear upon his argument? Tell us the time, the place, the author?—Oh! the uncertainty of all these proves its antiquity! Admirable proof! The certainty, strength, and authority of the evidence, rest upon its imbecility and obscurity; and that which is adduced to explain the controversy, is itself darker than the subject it is brought to elucidate. If I ask who is the witness in this case? the answer is,

* Humphrey Lloyd was a Cambro-Briton, a medical practitioner, educated at Oxford, and who afterwards settled in Denbigh Castle, Wales. He published a historical fragment in the year 1572, entitled *Commentarioli Britannicæ Descriptionis Fragmentum, Auctore Humphrado Lhuyd, Denbyghiense, Cambro Britanno. Hujus auctoris diligentiam et judicium lector admirabitur.* A translation of the fragment appeared under the title of the *Breuiary of Britayne*, &c. by Thomas Twyne, Gentleman, Lond. 1573. Buchanan, who treats this performance with very little ceremony, was perhaps irritated at the presumption of the title, and wished to show that there were some readers who neither admired the industry, nor the judgment of the author. Mr. Barrington [*Observations on the Statutes*] says, “Lhuyd is generally very accurate in what relates to Wales or its antiquities.” Languet did not entertain a more favourable opinion of his antiquarian theories than Buchanan. *Langueti Epistolæ ad Sydneim*, p. 29, 41. referred to by Dr. Irvine, *Mem. of Buchanan*, p. 288. Mr. Pinkerton praises Lhuyd, *Enq.* p. 198. and abuses him, *Enq.* p. 98. as he does every other writer he encounters, according as their statements coincide or differ from his own theory.

I do not know. Well then, what is the purport of the testimony? Indeed, I cannot tell: I have just heard that in that fragment, it is called Prudania. But pray, what is it that is called Prudania? is it a mountain? or a river? is it a village, or a town? or a man, or a woman? That is what I cannot say; only I suppose it means Britain. Now, granting that Prudania means Britain, I 'ask again, What after all does your fragment prove? I should be glad to know whether it affirms the name of the island to be Prudania, or convicts them of ignorance, who give it this fictitious appellation. Here, too, the reply is, I am quite at a loss, but I recognize a British sound, and there is clearly a British signification in the etymology of the word itself, for Prudania is evidently the same as the British word Prudcamia, only a little softened, signifying excellent beauty, formed from Pryd, beauty, and Cam, white. Why, that is a reason for its being called Prudamia, not Prudania, as the bards, in the language of the country, pronounce the word Prudam. I shall not here remark how trifling, fallacious, and often contemptible all this method of investigating the origin of names is, nor how ridiculous Varro,* and other eminently learned men, have rendered themselves on such subjects. I pass over, too, the whole Cratylus of Plato. This only I affirm, that I will prove as easily, to unprejudiced ears, Cambria [Wales,] to be derived from canis [a dog,] and Brutum [a brute,] as you will be able to persuade them, that Prudania has sprung from Prudcamia; for by this mode you may derive any thing you please, from any thing. But Lloyd himself shows how little confidence he places in these proofs, when he calls the bards in aid of his argument, a race of men indubitably of great antiquity, but who, the ancients assert, committed nothing to writing. Of these, however, I shall speak more at length afterwards.

iv. To proceed to Lloyd's last refuge; Cæsar, says he, who first among the Romans mentioned this island, named it Britannia, and almost all the succeeding Latin writers have im-

* Varro, esteemed the most learned of all the Romans, was born B. C. 28, and lived till near 90 years of age. He wrote a number of treatises, and among others, the *De Lingua Latina*, to which Buchanan alludes. The *Cratylus* of Plato, is a book of similar import.

plicitly followed him. Here Lloyd commences with an obvious falsehood, in saying, that Cæsar was the first Latin author who mentioned Britain, for Lucretius,* before Cæsar was born, mentions it; and Aristotle among the Greeks, long before that;† and, shortly after Cæsar, Propertius,‡ who says,

Cogor et in tabula, pictos ediscere mundos,

I am compelled in maps to learn the world described,

tells us, that in his age, a delineation of the world used to be posted upon the walls of the schools. Now, I would ask Lloyd himself if he can believe, that Cæsar, instructed as he was in every branch of liberal education, never saw, or examined a map of the world; or if, where the other parts of the globe were described, it be credible that Britain, the largest island in the world, already so conspicuous in Greek and Roman geography, was alone omitted in these maps? Could it be possible, that he who made such minute inquiry into every thing respecting Britain, as to the aboriginal, and the then present inhabitants, the laws and customs of the people, the animal and vegetable productions of the country; could it be possible for him to have been so negligent with respect to the name of the country itself; or, is it likely that he, who recorded with such fidelity, and accuracy, the names of the cities of Gaul, would have defrauded the Britons of their pristine glory? Why the ancient name, for which Lloyd so strongly contends, should have been

* Lucretius, a celebrated Latin poet, of the Epicurean sect, flourished B. C. 45. Here the text has either been interpolated or vitiated, as Lucretius was not born before Cæsar; the error, however, may be corrected, by substituting *who wrote*, as the poem of Lucretius, it is highly probable, was published before the Commentaries of Cæsar, or perhaps Buchanan may have been misled by Stephanus, who, following Crinitus, asserts that Lucretius was a more ancient writer than Cicero.

† Aristotle, a Grecian philosopher, chief of the Peripatetics, born at Stagyræ, a small city in Macedon, whence he is often called the Stagyræite. About 384 B. C. he was appointed tutor, by Philip of Macedon, to his son Alexander, and wrote, it is said upwards of four hundred treatises on various subjects. During the last years of his life, he taught at Athens in the lyceum. Theophrastus, his favourite disciple, succeeded him, who, it is supposed, enlarged, and improved his works, and inserted some of his own productions among those of his master.

‡ Propertius, a Latin poet of the Augustan age, he flourished A. C. 19.

Prudania, I cannot conceive, unless words, perhaps, acquire antiquity by being written on old paper. But at present, I have done with Lloyd, and the controversy, which, by Welch witnesses and idle dreams, he has endeavoured to support against the unanimous testimony of all the learned men, who, either now or formerly, have treated of the subject.

v. With Elliot, my task will be easier. Led away, not only by plausible conjectures, but even by authors of no mean name, he believes that the country was formerly called Prytaneia; nor does he think it unlikely that an island abounding with all that is requisite for the support or embellishment of life, should be so named. Were it necessary here, strictly to examine the reasons of a name, Sicily, and many other islands, as superior to Britain in fertility, as they are inferior in size, ought rather to have been called Prytaneia. Besides, in these authors, by whose authority the name Prytaneia is supported, it is quite apparent, that the text is vitiated. In Stephanus,* indeed, there is the greatest inconsistency. Under the word Albion, † he tells us, that that island was the island of Brettan, following, as he alleges, the authority of Martian. Under the words, Juvornia and Juvorna, ‡ Prætannica is written; and in another place, he says, that in the ocean, are the Brettanic islands, the inhabitants of which are called Bretons. But Martian and Ptolemy, § in these words, make P

* Stephanus. There was a family of learned printers of this name, in the 16th century, celebrated for the valuable editions of the Greek and Roman classics they published. The father was author of a Latin, and the son of a Greek, Thesaurus, both works of pre-eminent merit.

† In his Dictionary.

‡ Ireland.

§ Ptolemy, a Greek geographer and astronomer. He flourished at Athens, in the reigns of Adrian and Marcus Aurelius, in the beginning of the 2d. century, forty years after Tacitus. His Geography is still extant, and is frequently referred to by Buchanan; it is a work astonishing for the time in which he lived, but by no means accurate; and with regard to Scotland, singularly defective. He makes all the country bend due east from the Mull of Galloway, to the promontory Orcas, in Caithness, so that all Scotland, instead of running due north, runs due east. Nor can this arise from any corruption of the text, but was infallibly his opinion from the longitudes and latitudes he lays down at full length, in an hundred places, Pink. Enq. vol. i. p. 10. The Rev. William Macgregor, Stirling, in his Notes to Nimmo's Stirlingshire, distinguishes this geographer as the "accurate;" and has the fol-

the first letter. If any one, however, compare the passages, he will find that the mss. have indisputably been corrupted; and Stephanus himself allows, that Brettania ought to be written with B as the initial, and two Ts. Elliot, who, I suspect, was not ignorant of the blunder, is content, after having sufficiently exhibited his erudition, to leave the decision of the question to his readers. But Lloyd, that his ingenuity may be no secret, from among the three names of the greatest island, magnanimously prefers that which has the fewest advocates—Prudania. Next to it he admires Prytaneia; but as for Britain, a name already illustrious among all nations, and which, as Pliny* affirms, was celebrated in the Greek and Roman writings, that he rejects as corrupted, and as having been so in a late age, by Julius Cæsar, who he falsely supposes, as has been mentioned, was the first author that introduced the name of Britain into Latin literature, and drew after him all the others into the same error.

VI. I am, however, able to prove the antiquity of the word Britain, by many and most creditable witnesses, were the subject doubtful; and that it was not vitiated by Cæsar, but that he received it pure from his ancestors, except, indeed, that the ancients were accustomed to write it with a double T, and thence it arose, I imagine, that Lucretius wrote the first syllable of the word long. Now, indeed, the Latins are accustomed to omit one T, which is yet constantly preserved in the word Britto. The Greeks who write Brettania, approach nearest to the pronunciation of the language, which the natives themselves, and all their neighbours still retain, for the adjacent Gauls call all the British women, Brettæ. Bret-

lowing amusing note on the easterly wheel he has given the north of Scotland. "This seeming error in Ptolemy," says he, "has been ingeniously accounted for, by supposing that the two parts of Britain, distinguished by Antoninus' wall, had been drawn on two pieces of paper or separated by accident, and that by a blunder they might have been pasted together, so as to make proper Caledonia at right angles to her real bearing!" *History of Stirlingshire*, vol. i. p. 89.

* Pliny the elder, a natural historian. He perished in an irruption of Vesuvius, A. D. 79. from his great anxiety to examine the interior of the crater. His *History*, in 37 Books, is still extant.

ter with them signifies to speak British, and a promontory of Aquitaine, is commonly called Cape Breton: and both the Scottish nations of Albyn and Hibernia pronounce the word in a similar manner. They who use the German dialect, sometimes transpose the letters, and say, Berton, instead of Breton. Dionysius Afer, in that verse,

Πληνὲν κέχυται ψυχρὸς ῥόος ἔνθα Βρετανοί,

“ Bretons who dwell near the cold, swelling deep,”

in rejecting the one T, uses a poetical license similar to what he has done in Σαμνται for Σαρμαται. Here the agreement of so many nations, almost from their first existence, both among themselves, and with the most ancient of the Greeks and Latins, weighs more with me than all the absurdities of Lloyd. Let him bring forward, if he can, who it was before Aristotle, that wrote Prudania; but that, let him twist himself as he may, he will never be able to do; for it is certain, that some ages after Aristotle, the bards had committed nothing to writing. Away then with that vain-glorious and ridiculous boasting of antiquity, of which no proof, no vestige, no, not the fragment of a vestige can be found.

VII. Amidst these diversities of opinion, and various modes of speech, Lloyd deems it most advisable always to look to the ancient mode of pronouncing the native language of the country, as to a polar star, by which to direct the course of his argument. From this I should not feel much inclined to dissent, if what was in ancient use, and therefore thought certain, could always be discerned and steered by; but for many reasons this cannot be done; chiefly, because in every language it is extremely difficult to find out what was the most ancient usage. And it is safer here to follow the practice of the learned, than to be searching back into distant ages, with fruitless industry, for sources as obscure as the fountains of the Nile; especially, as the foundation of a vocabulary does not depend upon the judgment of the wise, but, principally, on the caprice of the rude and illiterate, into whose designs to inquire anxiously, is only a waste of labour; and which, could they even be discovered, would, after all, be but of very little value. For, as in the generation of all other things, whether produced spontaneously, or cultivated by art,

the embryos are first formed imperfect, unfit for use, and unpleasant in appearance, then they are improved by cultivation, and at last by proper treatment become fair and lovely: in the same manner language, originating with barbarians, is at first rough, harsh, and unpolished, then by use its native ruggedness gradually wears off, till at last it becomes more sweetly harmonious to the ear, and has a more pleasing influence on the mind. In this, therefore, if in any thing, I think, some indulgence should be granted to the practice of well educated men; and a liberal, dignified, and innocent pleasure ought not to be despised. But if any one be born with so depraved a taste, that he prefers the language of Cato and Ennius, to Cicero and Terence, and after the introduction of corn, chooses rather to feed upon acorns, I willingly leave him to indulge in that taste, such as it is.

VIII. But our dispute is not concerning the purity and elegance of the Latin language, for, with regard to this, it is of little consequence how the British formerly pronounced their letters; the question is, how did the Latins enunciate British, not how did the British enunciate Latin sounds? As for myself, I would rather choose to remain ignorant of the barbarous dialect of the ancient Britons, than unlearn that knowledge of the Latin tongue which I acquired, when a boy, with such great labour. I can perceive without regret, the gradual extinction of the ancient Scottish language, and cheerfully allow its harsh sounds to die away, and give place to the softer and more harmonious tones of the Latin. For if, in this transmigration into another language, it is necessary that we yield up one thing or other, let us pass from rusticity and barbarism, to culture and civilization, and let our choice and judgment, repair the infelicity of our birth. Or, if our labour and industry can avail in such a case, let us exert them in polishing the Greek and Latin languages, which the greater part of the world has publicly received, and in wiping away whatever stain of barbaric speech may still adhere to them. But why enlarge? Why this extreme anxiety about foreign names, especially about translating them into another language, when it is not possible to preserve them, or if possible, could be of no use; for what language is there, that

has not letters and sounds, which cannot be expressed by the characters of another? What nation besides the German, can pronounce the letter W, or what Latin letters can represent sounds similar to those which the Spaniards, Britons, and part of the Scots attach to the letters D, G, P, T, X, and Z? On account of this grating sound, I suppose it is, that Pliny, in enumerating the towns of Spain, denies that they can be pronounced in the Latin language, with any facility. Some he describes, as of ignoble and barbarous appellation, and others he says, cannot be named without disgust.

ix. What, I ask, would Lloyd do if he were writing a British history in Latin? With all his fondness for barbarism, I imagine, he would find it a difficult task, to introduce the genuine British names, when he now tortures himself so grievously, as to the manner in which he may write his own, whether Ludd, Lhuyd, Lud or Lloyd,—none of all which can be expressed by Latin letters, or pronounced by a Latin mouth, or heard by a Latin ear, without offence;—for if he retain the true sound, he produces not a Latin, but a semi-barbarous word; or if he bend a foreign term to the true genuine sound of the Latin, he sins as foully as Cæsar is said to have done against the British. What then shall we do with Lloyd? What will please this troublesome fellow? Shall we call it Prudamia rather than Britannia? Lloyd, although so severe a censor, does not insist upon this, he will even permit us to derive Prudania from Prudam. But if any one dare to say Britannia or Brettania, he is instantly accused of violating the sanctity and antiquity of the language, of contaminating its purity, and breaking down its energetic and masculine tones, into a soft and mawkish effeminacy. Are we then to be allowed to change nothing of our ancient ruggedness? Or if not to change, may we not polish our vocabulary, that the rude notes may sound like something human? We see what our ancestors have done with the names of the Morini, the Armorici, and Maremarusa;* they could not transform them into pure Latin, therefore they imitated it in their termination and declension. But, this, I perceive,

* Names of people and cities on the north-east coast of France.

Lloyd will not allow; he calls us back to the august antiquity of the Prudani, and forbids any departure from the language of the bards, and the senachies.

x. The most ancient of* the Greeks and Latins, were never fettered by such bonds, nor, after their language began to shake off the yoke of antiquity, did any one among them prefer retaining obsolete phrases instead of those which had displaced them; and in translating from Greek into Latin, or from Latin into Greek, the utmost liberty was allowed. Who ever imputed it as a crime to the Latins, that they transformed Polydeuces into Pollux; Heracleis into Hercules; Asclepios into Esculapius? or to the Greeks, that they changed Catulus into Catlus, and Remus into Romus. Nor did they hesitate to turn the Punic AL, in the last syllable into AS. Neither, if Annibas were used for Annibal, did they consider the majesty of history prostrated, truth corrupted, or any stain thrown on the Punic language!—See how widely the manner of studying polite literature among the ancient Saxons and Danes, who afterwards emigrated into Britain, differs from the savage squalidity of Lloyd. They, uncultivated as they were, and ignorant of all erudition, when they came among a people of a barbarous and strange tongue, not only did not allow themselves to be infected with their uncouth dialect, but, when they had once tasted of the sweetness of the Greek, and Latin tongues, they rejected with disdain, even the asperities arising from their own; and some of the rougher epithets they softened, in order to render them less offensive to

* The freedoms which the ancients used with the names of barbarous nations, and which almost all foreigners use in translating names, render it nearly impossible, from any similarity of sound, to trace the true original native appellation of any people; and, hence in the hundreds of disquisitions respecting the origin of nations, scarcely any two writers agree, there is generally so much fancy mingled in the inquiry; for, when a keen etymological disputant starts an unhappy syllable that has the misfortune to bear, in his opinion, some mark of a favourite theory, he never fails to follow it in all its doublings, and persecute it in all its retreats, till at last, at the death, he has forced it to assume some resemblance to the object of his pursuit, or at least, he persuades himself that he has, and instantly quarrels with all whom he cannot convert to his belief. It is with such triflers that Buchanan is justly indignant, and such, undoubtedly, Lhuyd was, with regard to his Prudania.

the ear; such as Oxonia and Roffa, for Oxonfordia and Raufchestria, besides many others, which Lloyd himself does not dispute. But, in fact, he scruples at no liberty himself, in this way of writing, and while he is such a severe critic on one name, Britain, he assumes unbounded license with almost every other. In opposition to the ancient custom of all nations, who prefer a new, he strenuously contends for an obscure and uncertain vocable; no doubt, lest the royal name of Lloyd, deduced from the Cambrian pedigree, and preserved as a palladium to the present day, should descend to oblivion, and rather than this should happen, its representative wages war against the universal consent of mankind, against the ages that are past, and even against truth itself.

XI. There remains another observation to be made on the name Britain, and that is, that among foreign writers it is applied to the whole island. Likewise the Brettons, and the English, who have written on British affairs, sometimes agree with these foreigners; while at others they confine the term to that part of the island which was a Roman province, varying it according as the events of war changed its boundaries; for sometimes they make the wall of Hadrian, and sometimes that of Severus, the limits of the empire, and the remainder beyond the walls they denominate barbarous, or transmarine. Bede * writes in the beginning of his first book, "And thus the Picts coming into Britain, began to inhabit the northern parts of the island, for the Britons occupied the

* Bede, or Beda, commonly styled Venerable Bede, to whom such frequent reference is made, is one of the most ancient British historians. He was born, A. D. 672, near Weremouth, in the Bishopric of Durham; was ordained a deacon at 19, and a priest at the age of 30. In A. D. 731, he published his Ecclesiastical History, which, notwithstanding the legendary tales with which it abounds, is esteemed the best, or rather, the only original authentic record remaining of the early period of the different British nations, after we lose the light of the Roman authors. He died A. D. 735, of a lingering disease, probably occasioned by his sedentary life and studious habits; leaving behind him the highest name of the age in which he lived. It is only to be regretted that he had not written a civil, rather than an Ecclesiastical History, of the Island. His works are in Latin, and were first collected in 3 vols. folio, and published in Paris, A. D. 1544, and have been since repeatedly reprinted.

south." And in chap. 34. of the same book, he says, "Adian king of the Scots who inhabit Britain." And in book 4. chap. 4. when mentioning the return of Colman out of England into Scotland, "In the mean time, Colman, who was from Scotland, leaving Britain." And elsewhere, "Then they began, for several days, to come from the country of Scotland into Britain." Likewise, "Oswald being slain, near the wall, with which the Romans had girt the whole of Britain, from sea to sea, on purpose to restrain the fury of the barbarians." And the same phraseology is used by the same author, in book 2. chap. 9. Claudian too, seems not to have been ignorant of this mode of speaking, peculiar to the British, when he writes, that the Roman legion, which bridled the fierce Scot, was drawn out before the British, that is opposite to the Scots, that they might repel their outrages from the British, on the extremity of Britain, and even to the borders of Scotland. This mode of speech is frequently used by William of Malmesbury, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, eminent British historians, in whose writings it is quite plain, that what they call Britain, is that part of the island only which was contained within the wall of Severus. But although this be so distinctly marked by them, that it is almost impossible to be misunderstood, yet it has produced egregious mistakes among the writers of the next age, who have left upon record, that Alfred, Athelstane, and some other of the Saxon kings, reigned over the whole island, when it is certain they never passed beyond the wall of Severus; for, when they read that these monarchs ruled over all Britain, they imagined that the whole island was subject to them.

XII. Besides, a similar remark may be made on the manner in which the names *Britannus*, and *Britto* are used. The ancient Greek and Roman writers call the whole island Britain, and all its inhabitants Britons without distinction. The first of the Romans, with whom I am acquainted, who called them Brittons, is Martial,* in that verse, "*Quam veteres brachæ BRITTONIS pauperis*," "The old breeches of the poor BRITTON." The common appellation of the inhabitants of the

* Martial, a Latin poet celebrated for his epigrams.

Gallic peninsula was Brittons, although Gregory of Tours always calls it Britain, and them Britons. The Romans always call their provincials Britons, although the provincials themselves, rather prefer the name of Brittons. But both names have one origin, Britannia, and as both flow from the same fountain, so both carry with them the same signification. This the verses of the Poet Ausonius,* most perspicuously show,

Silvius ille bonus, qui carmina nostra lacescit :
 Nostra magis meruit disticha Britto bonus.
 Silvius hic bonus est. Quis Silvius ? Iste Britannus.
 Aut Britto hic non est Silvius, aut malus est.
 Silvius iste bonus fertur, ferturque Britannus.
 Quis credat civem degenerasse bonum !
 Nemo bonus Britto est : si simplex Silvius esse
 Incipiat, simplex desinat esse bonus.
 Silvius hic bonus est : sed Britto est Silvius idem
 Simplicior res est, dicere Britto malus.
 Silvi Britto bonus, quamvis homo non bonus esse
 Ferris, nec se quit jungere Britto Bono.

XIII. Those who contend, that the Britons were a colony of the Gauls, allege that Hercules had a son by Celto, a Gallic virgin, called Britannis, from whom the nation of the Britons sprung. Pliny places this nation near to the Morini, the Atrebatas, and the Gessoriaci; and there are some

* Ausonius, one of the best poets of the fourth century, was the son of an eminent physician, born at Bourdeaux, he was preceptor to Gratian the Emperor, Valentinian's successor, and was promoted by him to the consulship. This epigram was written against one Silvius, *Wood*, a native of Britto, *Brittany*, or Little Britain. The whole point lies in a play upon the word bonus, which in one sense signifies good, and in another notorious, of course the wit, which depends upon a double entendre, does not admit of a translation. The verses are quoted by Buchanan, merely to show, that in the time of Ausonius, the term Britto and Brittanus were synonymous; the following paraphrastic imitation of the two first distiches may serve as a specimen,

Good Silvius, forsooth, must my verses abhor,
 But, if bad, the *good* Britton but merits them more.
 The Wood is noble. Which ? The British Wood !
 Nay, 'tis not British or it is not good.

among the Greek grammarians who support the assertion, as Suidas, and the author of the *Etymologicon Magnum*. C. Julius Cæsar, and C. Cornelius Tacitus, also, appear to me to have been of the same opinion, besides several other learned though less celebrated Latin writers. And the religion, language, institutions, and manners of some of the nations inhabiting near the Gallic sea confirm it; from whence the Britons appear to me to have come over in a body, and the Morini* in partial emigrations. Morinus indeed [derived from More, a word in the old Gallic language, signifying the sea] seems to bear witness to its origin. Venta Belgarum, and Icenus,† derived from Icius, render it very probable that these nations carried along with them their country names to a foreign soil, where they affixed them as surnames; and upon their first arrival, having met with Britons, whom they immediately recognized as their progeny, they wished to bring them back again as it were to their former homes. For Morinus, among the ancient Gauls, is synonymous with Marinus, [inhabiting the sea,] and Moremarusa signifies mare mortuum, [the dead sea,] although Gorropius, in his over anxiety to exalt his Aduatici, has attempted to carry off from us these two last. Neither can it be denied that the Aremorici, or Armorici, are of our extraction. Of this we have irrefragible proof; for Ar, or Are, is an old preposition of the Gallic language, signifying *at*, or *upon*, as if you would say near, or upon the sea, that is *maritime*; and Moremarusa is derived from More, that is mare [the sea] the last syllable being long in the declination, after the manner of a Greek participle. Now Armorica or Aremorica—and he who on hearing them does not instantly recognize them, must be ignorant of the ancient Gallic—both signify maritime,

* The Morini were a nation or tribe who inhabited *Belgic Gaul*.

† Venta Belgarum, from Gwent, or *Went*, Brit. an open country, Chalmers, was the name of a town in Belgic Gaul, and also of a town in Britain now Winchester. Icius Portus, was the name of another town in Belgic Gaul, and the Icenii, the name of a British tribe between the Thames and the Humber, who, emigrating in a body, left no trace behind, but the name of Icius Portus, which was afterwards called Bonona, now Bologne.—Pinkerton. The Iceni had also a town in Britain, Benona.

as Strabo interprets them, who always translates them in the Greek *Ἀρμωνιαίτις*, that is, bordering on the ocean. Cæsar thus notices the Armorici, in book 5. "The great body of the Gauls, which were assembled to oppose him, had been collected from their cities, which they call Armoricæ." And in book 7. "Out of all the cities which are contiguous to the ocean, and, which, according to their custom, they call Armoricæ." And in book 8. "And other cities, situate in the utmost boundaries of Gaul, adjoining the ocean, which they call Armoricæ." Cæsar, as often as he mentions any of these cities, always uses to add, "*which are called*," and he so adds it, that it may be understood to be an epithet, or surname, and not the proper name of the place. Nor is it to be found, in any authentic writer, as the name of a city, although it extends along the whole coast, from Spain to the Rhine; and among so many writers, Pliny alone seems not to have understood the true meaning of the genuine name, for he thinks that all Aquitaine was sometimes so called. But enough for the present. I shall afterwards revert to the subject of the Gallic language.

xiv. The most ancient name of the island is believed to have been Albion, or as Aristotle,* or rather Theophrastus, in his treatise, entitled *De Mundo*, [of the world] styles it Albium. But this name is rather used in books than in common language, unless, indeed, among the Scots, who still call themselves Albinich, and their country Albin. Many think, that this name originated from the white rocks which are first seen by those who approach the island from the Gallic coast. But it appears, to me, to be particularly absurd to deduce the origin of a British name, from the Latin tongue, especially as there was at that time so little intercourse between these uncultivated nations. There are others who derive the name from Albion, the son of Neptune, who they feign to have been sometime king of Britain; an impudent fable, wholly unsupported by the testimony of antiquity. Yet upon this frail foundation of similar names, they are not ashamed to erect a kingdom; for I can see no other ground in history

* See note, page 5.

for this invention. Among the Greeks, indeed, Diodorus Siculus, * and Strabo, † have mentioned Albion and Bergion; and Cato, Hyginus, and Mela among the Latins; from whom it may be collected, that Albion and Bergion, Ligurians, the sons of Neptune, infested with their robberies the roads leading from the country of the Albici into Italy; and that when Hercules, having vanquished Geryon, was returning victorious from Spain, they attempted to deprive him of his booty, and, having almost overcome him in a fierce conflict, he, in his extremity, was forced to implore the aid of Jupiter, who rained down a shower of stones from heaven in order to assist his fatigued and worn-out son; of which battle the field of stones remains as a memorial to posterity. Yet, after all, I do not mean to deny, but that both the island and robber may have received their name from Album [white.]

xv. I contend, however, that Album was a common name in many nations, among whom it signified not only colour, but height; and, indeed, Festus Pompeius ‡ asserts that the places termed Alba by the Latins, were called Alpa by the Sabines, and hence the origin of the appellation Alps, because these mountains were covered with perpetual snows. Trusting to the authority not of Festus only, but also of Strabo, though I grant that Alba and Alpa were synonymous among the ancients, yet I am more inclined to think that the Alps were so named rather from their height than from their whiteness. First, because the numerous cities of Italy, France, and Spain, which are denominated Alba, are almost all situated on hills; and next, because Strabo admits without distinction, that

* Diodorus Siculus, the historian, flourished in the time of Julius Cæsar and Augustus. He wrote in Greek. His history consisted of 40 books, of which 15 now only remain. He has a short description of Britain.

† Strabo, a Greek geographer and historian. He flourished under Augustus and died under Tiberius, A. D. 25. His historical and philosophical works are lost, but his Geography, in 17 books, is still extant. In his fourth book, he describes Gaul and the Britannic isles; with regard to the last, it is inaccurate, as might be expected from the then state of all information respecting them: he placed Ireland north of Britain.

‡ Festus Pompeius, a celebrated grammarian of antiquity. He abridged a work of Verrius Flaccus de Significatione Verborum.

these words, Alba, Alpa, Alpia, Albionia, and Albici, agree in signifying altitude, as if they were derived from the same root; and, besides, he shows, that these words are chiefly used where the Alps begin to raise their heads. Hence there is Albingaunum, and Album Intimelum in Liguria; and among the Japides there is Albium, a very lofty mountain, where the Alps terminate. There are also many other places which seem to have been similarly named from their height. In Italy, the river Albula rises among the mountains of Etruria, and the waters of Albula rush from the Tiburtine heights. In Gallia Narbonensis, the Highlanders are styled Albici. In Germany, the river Albis has its source in the Bohemian hills. In Asia, the river Albanus flows from the ridge of Caucasus, and the Albanian nation is poured from the same mountains. From all these instances, I think, we shall not be greatly in error, when we conclude Album to have been a term not peculiar to one, but common to many nations, and that in every place which I have named, the height is perpetual and immutable, while the whiteness continues scarcely for a few months, and even that is not common to all. The very names of the Ligurian giants themselves strengthen my conjecture; both Albion and Bergion, in my opinion, having been given them on account of their size. What meaning the ancients attached to Alba, we have sufficiently shown; that Berg, * in German, signifies high, is too well known to need much explanation, and that the Gauls formerly understood the word in the same sense, is plain, from a passage in the third book of Pliny, which I contend ought to be thus read. “Whence, Cato said, the Bergomates sprung, discovering by their very name that they were more highly than happily situated.”

xvi. Wherefore, it appears that Albion and Bergion were men who excelled all others in stature, and, trusting to their strength, committed many robberies on the coast of Liguria,

* Berg. Among all barbarous nations their cities were at first built upon heights, as those in the interior of Africa are at this day, to prevent surprise, or that they might be more easily defended; whence the same word which signifies the one, came in time to signify the other: thus, Berg, a height; Burgh, Edinburgh; and in the Celtic, Dun, a hill, *Dun-Edin*.

whom Hercules, when travelling that road, subdued by force of arms. None of the ancients, however, mention these men as having reigned in Britain, and what renders the whole very improbable is the then state of Gaul, nor is it likely that Britain was much more tranquil, when the great Albion left the contests of a mighty kingdom, in order to commit petty robberies at home! But, although I do not differ widely in opinion from those who derive Albion from Album, still I think, that not the colour, but the height of the mountains was the cause of affixing the name, and they who imposed it, were, I believe, partly induced to do so by comparing England with Ireland, there being but a narrow strait between them; for when they saw the whole of the one coast rise into mountains, and the other stretch out into a campaign, they denominated the first Albion, from its height; whether the other received a name from its more humble appearance, length of time, and the negligence of the inhabitants in preserving any ancient memorials, has rendered uncertain. Besides, what gives additional strength to my opinion is, that the name of the island derived from Album, whether Albion or Albiun, continues to this day in Scotland, fixed, as in its native soil, nor, amid so many changes of inhabitants, kingdoms, languages, and all the vicissitudes of human affairs, has it ever been possible to extirpate it. Such appears to me to be the truth, or near the truth, yet if any one shall bring forward better, or more powerful arguments, I shall readily acquiesce in his opinion.

xvii. Having now discussed the various suppositions respecting the ancient name of the island, the next thing is, to describe the situation of the country. The native English writers have described distinctly and fully their own land; but Hector Boethius, * in his description of Scotland, has

* Hector Boethius, or Boyce, D. D. was the first Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and a Canon of the Cathedral. He was a native of Dundee and completed his studies at Paris, where he was for some time Professor of Philosophy. The work here referred to is "*Scotorum Historiæ à primæ gentis Origine, cum aliarum et rerum et Gentium Illustratione non vulgari*," lib. xvii. date uncertain. An edition containing the eighteenth Book and a fragment of the nineteenth, was published by Ferrarius, who added an Appen-

inserted some things not strictly correct, and has led others into mistakes, for, credulous himself, he too rashly published the opinions of those to whom he had committed the labour of inquiry. As for myself I shall relate succinctly and briefly the matters of which I have certain information, and correct to the best of my ability, those which appear either obscure or doubtful.

England, as far as connected with my present object, is appropriately divided by four rivers, two of which, the Dee and the Severn, empty themselves into the Irish Channel; and the other two, the Thames and the Humber, flow into the German Ocean. Between the Dee and the Severn Wales is situate, divided into three distinct principalities. Between the Severn and the Thames, lies all that part of the coast, which is opposite to France. The country stretching from the Thames to the Humber, forms the third part; and the fourth comprehends the remaining space, which extends from the Dee and the Humber to the borders of Scotland.

Scotland is separated from England, first by the river Tweed, then by the Cheviots, a very lofty range of mountains, where they end, by a modern rampart, and lastly, by the rivers Esk and Solway. Within these limits, from the Scots to the Irish Sea, the districts lie in the following order, —THE MERSE,—in which the English now hold the town of

dix of thirty-five pages, Paris, 1574.—A Scotch translation of which was made at the command of King James V. by John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Murray, and Canon of Ross, “for the instruction of the Scottish nobility,” of whom Sir Ralph Sadler wrote, “I see none among them that hath anie agility of wit or learning.” This edition, which Dr. Irvine supposes the only one, was published in folio, and black letter, without date, “Imprentit at Edinburgh, by me, Thomas Davidson, prenter to the Kyngis noble grace.” It was reprinted by James Ballantyne and Co. Edinburgh, 2 vols. 4to, 1821. Buchanan has been repeatedly accused of servilely copying Boethius. Had he been guilty, he never could have penned such a sentence as this at the very commencement of his work; because, having found that author mistaken in his description of the country through his credulity, he never could have exposed that credulity, after he had implicitly followed him in his historical narrative. Such conduct must have betrayed not a want of honesty, but a want of common sense, of which his most violent opponents have not yet accused our historian.

Berwick,—situate on the left bank of the Tweed,* is bounded on the east, by the Frith of Forth, on the south, by England. To the west of this district, on both sides of the river Tweed, is Teviotdale, which takes its name from the river Teviot, and is separated from England by the Cheviot hills. After these lie those smaller districts, Liddisdale, Evondale, and Eskdale, named from the three rivers, Liddal, Evon, and Esk; and last of all, Annandale, through which runs the Annan, whence the appellation,—dividing it almost in the middle, and emptying itself into the Irish Sea, near the Solway.

XVIII. Now, to return again to the Forth, it bounds Lothian on the east; Cocksburnpath and Lammermuir hills dividing that country from the Merse, which last, bending a little towards the west, touches the districts of Lauderdale, and Tweeddale, the one named from the town of Lauder,† and the other from the Tweed, which flows through it. On the west and south, Tweeddale is bounded by Liddisdale, Nithsdale, and Clydesdale. The river Nith gives its name to the district, through which it runs to the Irish Ocean. Lothian, named after Lothus, king of the Picts, is bounded on the east by the Frith of Forth, or the Scottish Sea, and on the south-west by the valley of Clyde. This district far excels all the rest in the cultivation of the elegancies, and in the abundance of the necessaries of life. It is watered by five rivers, the Tyne, the two Esks, which, before they fall into the sea, unite in one channel, the Leith, and the Almond. These, rising partly among the Lammermuir mountains, and partly among the Pentland hills flow into the Forth. The chief towns are, Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith, Edinburgh, Leith, and Linlithgow.

XIX. More to the westward lies Clydesdale, on both sides of the river Clyde, which, on account of its extent, is divided

* Left bank of the Tweed. Suppose a person standing with his face towards the mouth of a river, the bank on his right hand is the right bank, on his left hand the left bank; of course the south is the right, the north the left bank of the Tweed.

† More probably from the river Lauder, or Leader.

into two wards, or sheriffdoms. In the upper ward there is a hill, not remarkably high, from which flow three different rivers, into three different seas; the Tweed into the Scottish, the Annan into the Irish, and the Clyde into the Deucalionian. The principal towns are Lanark and Glasgow. Kyle is contiguous on the south-west. Galloway is beyond Kyle, and is separated from Nithsdale by the river Cluden, flowing almost directly south, whose banks mark out the remaining part of Scotland on that side. This whole tract of country is richer in flocks than in corn. The rivers which run into the Irish Sea, are, the Urr, the Dee, the Ken, the Cree, and the Luce. The face of the country never rises into lofty mountains, but sometimes swells into moderate hills. In the vallies between these, the waters collecting produce almost innumerable lakes, whence the rivers, increased by the first showers before the autumnal equinox, bring down an incredible quantity of eels, which the inhabitants take in fishing traps made of willows, and, salting them, derive from them a considerable profit. The extreme boundary, on that side, is the promontory of Novantum, under which, in the mouth of the river Luce, is a bay, which Ptolemy calls Rerigonius, [the bay of Glenluce.] The bay commonly called Loch Ryan, and by Ptolemy Vidogara, opens into it, on the opposite side, from the Frith of Clyde. The neck of land, which runs out between these bays, the inhabitants call Rinn, that is the rim, or edge, of Galloway. They also call the promontory of Novantum the mull, [the beak, or jaw]; but the whole district is called Galloway, from Gallovid, which, in the language of the ancient Scots, signifies a Gaul.

xx. Below Loch Ryan, Carrick slopes gently to the Frith of Clyde. Two rivers, the Stinchar, and the Girvan, intersect it, both of whose banks are skirted with pleasant villages. The land between them rises into gentle hills, well adapted for pasture, and not unfavourable for grain. The whole country not only abounds in the riches of the earth, and of the ocean, sufficient for the supply of its own inhabitants, but they have also large quantities to spare for their neighbours. The river Doon separates Carrick from Kyle, and rises from a lake of the same name, in which is an island,

with a small castle upon it. Kyle follows. It is bounded on the south by Galloway, and on the north-east by Clydesdale; on the west, it is separated from Cunninghame by the water of Irvine. The river Air divides it about the middle, upon which is situate Air, a town of considerable trade. The whole country is more productive of brave men, than of corn or cattle, for the soil, almost every where, is light and sandy, which circumstance sharpens the industry of the inhabitants, as frugality increases the strength both of mind and body. Beyond this, Cunninghame stretches out towards the north, and straitening the Clyde, almost contracts it to the limits of a moderate river. The name of the region is Danish, and, in that language, signifies the residence of a king, which indicates, that the Danes had it once in possession; next, on the east side, is situate Renfrew, so named from a little town, in which their conventions were wont to be celebrated. The district is commonly called the Barony of Renfrew; two waters intersect it—each named Cart. After this Barony, is Clydesdale, extending along both banks of the Clyde, and, on account of its magnitude, divided into several jurisdictions. It is watered by many noble streams. On the left, the Avon and Douglas flow into the Clyde; and, on the right, another Avon [or Evon,] divides Lothian from the carses of Stirlingshire. These two currents have received the appellation common to rivers, instead of proper names, in the same manner as in Wales, in their dialect, they call a river, Avon.

xxi. Stirlingshire is separated from Lothian on the south, by the Evon; on the east, it is bounded by the Frith of Forth, which, contracting itself by degrees into the size of a passable river, admits of a bridge near the town of Stirling. One memorable river, the Carron, rolls through this country, in whose vicinity stand some ancient monuments. On the left bank are two earthen mounts, evidently artificial, vulgarly called Dunipace.* About two miles below, on the same side, there is a round edifice, built without lime, the sharp blocks being so shaped that part of the uppermost insert themselves, or are mortised into the lower, and thus the whole work, mutu-

* Duni Pacis, a compound of Celtic and Latin, signifying Hills of Peace.

ally locked together, and, sustained by the weight of the stones, tapers from the bottom to the top in the form of an arch. The top is open. There are various conjectures about the use of this edifice, and the person by whom it was erected. For my own part, I was once induced to believe, that it was a temple of the god Terminus, because, as we are informed, it was usual to build his temples round, and open at the top.* And what tended to strengthen my belief, was the neighbourhood of Dunipace, as if, peace being made there, the Romans had erected these two hills, to mark the termination of their empire. Nor should I have altered my opinion, had I not been informed, by persons of undoubted veracity, that many similar edifices were to be found in the islands, differing from the one we have described, only by being bigger, and more loosely constructed. There are also two little temples of a similar form in Ross-shire. These things obliged me to suspend my judgment, and to conjecture that they might be monuments of some great actions, and trophies of

* **Arthur's Oven.** This curious relic of Roman antiquity was demolished in 1743, by Sir Michael Bruce, Bart. of Stenhouse, who repaired a mill-dam with the materials. On its demolition the stones were found not to have been mortised into each other, as stated by Buchanan. The mistake had originated from a small hole in the stones, which had apparently been designed for fixing an instrument in them in order to raise them with greater facility to their respective places in the building. A model of Arthur's Oven is preserved in a fabric erected at Pennycuik, by Sir James Clark.—Nimmo's *Stirlingshire*, sect. iv. Boethius says that it was built in honour of Claudian by Vespasian; and Pinkerton mentions that in a valuable collection of MSS. at Panmure, he found at the end of the *Extracta e Chronicis Scotiæ*, some Notes by Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow, about 1560, containing some remarks on different Scottish antiquities, who says that a Roman inscription was visible in his time on the door of Arthur's Huif. The other small circular buildings in the Isles of similar construction, are those now denominated Pictish castles, and generally allowed to be Scandinavian structures. There are three in the parish of Delting, Shetland, all of a circular form, and have no entrance but from the top; and several in the parish of Unst, round towers, open at the top, having very strong thick walls, built of very large stones. In the Western Islands there are also still a few similar remains, which are undoubtedly of Norwegian origin; and some of them that have been examined were found to contain human bones, a circumstance which corroborates Buchanan's conjecture, that the smaller, for they are of various sizes, may have been erected as monuments.

the conquerors, erected almost at the end of the earth, in order to be safe from hostile injury. But whether these last are trophies, or, what some imagine, the sepulchres of illustrious men, I believe them to have been monuments, consecrated as everlasting memorials, reared, by untaught and uncultivated hands, after the fashion of that smaller edifice which is erected on the banks of the Carron. On the right side of the Carron, the country, otherways almost level, rises into a little hill, about midway between Dunipace and the chapel. At the bend of the angle the remains of a small city are yet visible, but the foundation of the walls, and the direction of the streets are now rendered indistinct, partly in consequence of the progress of agricultural improvement, and partly by gentlemen carrying away the square stones for the construction of villas in the neighbourhood. This city the English Bede expressly calls Guidi,* and places it in the angle of the wall of Severus.

* Guidi. The words of Bede are, lib. i. cap. 12. *Orientalis [sinus maris] habet in medio sui urbem Guidi occidentalis supra se, hoc est ad dextram sui habet urbem Alcluith.* The eastern [inlet of the sea] has the town of Guidi situate in the midst of it. To the west beyond this, that is to the right of it, lies the city of Alcluith;—generally allowed to be Dumbarton. The difficulty of this passage arises from the interpretation given to *in medio*, this Buchanan refers, and with the greatest probability, to the middle of the isthmus between Forth and Clyde. Gordon is of the same opinion. Sir James Dalrymple, however, supposes, that *in medio* refers to the middle of the Forth, and that the town must have been situated either upon Inch-Colm, or Inch-Keith. But it is evident that neither of these two islets contain space for a city, being both mere rocks; or allowing they did, it is not easy to conceive for what purpose a city should have been erected there, or even a fortified station, which, before the invention of artillery, could not command the Forth, and Inch Garvie was certainly the most proper position for commanding the passage. Mr. Nimmo, in the history of Stirlingshire, says, “Buchanan is of opinion that this was the ancient Camelon, near Falkirk,” and quotes Buchanan, Hist. lib. i. cap. 21. [22.] How he came to make this mistake it is impossible to guess, unless by supposing that he had not read the passage to which he alludes, for Buchanan expressly refutes that opinion. His words are “*qui vero hic Camelodunum fuisse fabulantur iidem contendunt,*” &c. he at the same time combats the fabulous stories of Boethius about its being the Camelon, the capital of the Picts; and in lib. iv. ch. 37. he again mentions this place, and assigns it a Roman origin. Gordon, in his Itin. Septen. mentions some vestiges of an ancient town, perhaps those to which Buchanan re-

XXII. Many celebrated Roman writers mention this wall; many vestiges are extant; many engraved stones are dug out, on which are inscribed, either the record of some deliverance experienced by tribunes or centurions, or some monumental epitaph. Since then the wall of Severus never approached within a hundred miles of that of Hadrian, which was built long before it, as the remains of both show, the English historians have either ignorantly misunderstood what the Latin authors said about the subject, or they have carelessly confounded what was plainly written, in whichever case, they appear to me to be worthy, if not of severe reprehension, at least of a slight admonition; especially as from the monuments just mentioned, and the history of Bede, it is quite evident that there formerly was the boundary between the Britons and the Scots. Those who fabulously assert Camelodunum to have been situated here, likewise contend that the little temple we have mentioned, was the temple of Claudius Cæsar; in both of which they err most egregiously; for, Camelodunum, the Roman colony, was three hundred miles distant from that place, if any credit is to be attached either to Ptolemy, or to the Itinerary* of Antoninus. Tacitus,† too, ex-

fers. "Going," he says, "about a quarter of a mile farther east, [from Castle-Carey] I found a large field crowded with what seemed to be the foundation and ruins of a large town, called East Bankier, the circumference of which is about three quarters of a mile. A mile farther east, at a place called the Chapel Hill, I found another square spot of ground, surrounded with a stone rampart, in the middle of which was the foundation of stone buildings. Half a mile still farther east, is a place called Wester Cowdon, where are vast tracts of buildings, and stone walls, whose foundations appear very distinct, covering a great many acres, with two or three rows of terraces, towards the north faced with stone." Most probably this was a Roman station, at which the various military roads met or intersected each other. That it was not Camelodunum Buchanan satisfactorily establishes. Probabilities are in favour of Camelodunum having been the capital of Cunobelinus, a British prince, now Malden in Essex. That it was not in Scotland is certain.

* *Itinerarum Antonini*, an erroneous title, as Vossius shows. It can belong to no Antoninus, as it mentions Constantinopolis, &c. It seems, Mr. Pinkerton thinks, to be the work of Julius Honorius. At all events it must have been written posterior to Constantine I.

† Tacitus a Roman historian. He wrote the life of Agricola, from which we derive our information of the earliest operations of the Romans in Scotland, about A. D. 97. and the first year of the reign of Trajan.

poses most distinctly this error of theirs throughout the whole of his narrative, but particularly in that passage where, speaking of the fall of Camelodunum, he says, "The Romans, who fled, found refuge in the temple of Claudius Cæsar." But this little chapel, or temple of Terminus, or monument of any thing else, appears never to have been furnished with doors, and above was open and exposed to attack from the throwing of stones; besides, it could hardly contain, much less shelter, ten soldiers. Nay more, Julius Agricola, almost forty years after the expedition of Claudius, was the first of the Romans who penetrated into these parts! And Hadrian, fifty years after Agricola, settled the bounds of the province by a rampart, extending from the Tyne to the Esk, of which the traces remain in many places to this day! But Septimus Severus, A. D. two hundred and ten, passed into Britain, and, advancing beyond the limits fixed by Hadrian, built a wall extending from the Frith of Clyde to the confluence of the Evon and Forth, of which numerous and perspicuous indications are still visible.* And, moreover, we nowhere find, in ancient monuments, that Camelodunum was ever the capital of the Picts, Abernethy having been both the royal residence and the seat of the church primate, which afterwards was translated to St. Andrews. But, if it be asked, what induced the Romans to lead a colony thither before the country was subdued, and how they subsisted in so sterile, woody, and uncultivated a region as it then was, and exposed to the daily attacks of their fiercest enemies? I suppose it will be answered—and I see no other answer that can be given—the ease with which they could be supplied by sea; for the ships then sailed to the very gates of the city, although against the current of the Carron. But if this were true, then it necessarily follows, that the fields on both sides of the Forth must have been covered by the ocean, and, of consequence that that tract must have been barren, where yet the corn for their sup-

* Buchanan in this passage is simply ascertaining the boundary line between the Britons and the Scots, which was indubitably at the place here mentioned. The misnomer of Severus for Antonine as the builder of the wall does not affect the argument. Respecting the various walls and ramparts erected by the Romans in Britain, vide note book iv.

port ought to have been grown. But a more difficult question still occurs. Why, when the sea came up over both sides of the Forth, why did not the Romans finish the wall there, rather than with superfluous labour carry it on so many miles inland?

XXIII. Beyond Stirling lies the county of Lennox,* divided from the barony of Renfrew by the river Clyde; and from that of Glasgow by the Kelvin; from the county of Stirling by mountains; and from the stewartry of Monteith by the Forth: it terminates at the Grampian hills, at whose base, in a hollow valley, loch Lomond extends twenty-four miles in length, and eight in breadth. This lake contains twenty-four islands, and abounds in fish. Besides a great variety of other kinds, it possesses one of a peculiar species, and very delicious flavour, which they call the pollack.† From a southern outlet it pours forth the river Leven, whence the county derives its name, and which falls into the Clyde near the castle and town of Dumbarton. The last of the Grampians, which form the extreme boundary of Lennoxshire, are cut as it were in two, by a small inlet of the sea, called loch Gare, on account of its shortness. Beyond that there is a much larger bay, named loch Long, from the river Long, which runs into it, and forms the boundary between Lennox and Cowal. Cowal, Argyle, and Knapdale, are indented by many arms of the sea, running inland from the Frith of Clyde. The most remarkable of which, loch Fine, so called from the river Fine, is upwards of sixty miles in length. There is also a lake in Knapdale, loch Awe, containing a small island with a fortified castle upon it, whence issues the river Awe, the only one in that country that empties itself into the Deucalionian sea. Beyond Knapdale, Cantyre stretches to the north-west, and is the headland of the country opposite Ireland, from which it is divided by a narrow strait. It is longer than it is broad, and is joined to Knapdale by an isthmus

* Levenoxshire, or Lennoxshire, now Dumbartonshire.

† Pollack, this fish is about the size of a herring, and is caught in great quantities with draught nets. They are best in the months of July and August, Statist. Acct. parish of Buchanan.

of sand, scarcely a mile across, so low that the sailors often drag their vessels over it, in order to shorten their navigation. Lorn skirts Knapdale and Argyle, and even extends to Lochaber, a plain and not unfruitful country.

xxiv. Where the Grampians are lower and more pervious, the country is called Braidalbane, that is to say, the highest [level] part of Scotland; and, where it there reaches its loftiest elevation, it is called Drum Albane, that is the back * of Scotland. Nor without cause; for, from that back, several rivers flow towards both seas, some to the south, and some to the north. Out of loch Earn, the river Earn glides in a south-easterly direction, and mingles with the Tay about three miles below Perth. From this river, the low land lying on both banks, receives its appellation Strathearn; Strath, in the ancient Scottish language, being usually applied to the vale through which a river takes its course. Between the mountains of this country and the Forth lies the stewartry of Monteith, receiving its name from the Teath, which runs through the midst of it. The Ochil hills come next, a considerable part of which, together with the country adjoining their base, is considered as belonging to the stewartry of Strathearn; but the remainder, reaching to the Frith, ambition has divided into three shires, Clackmannan, Culross, and Kinross. All the country to the eastward of these sherriffdoms and the Ochils, washed on either side by the Forth or the Tay, stretches, in the figure of a wedge, towards the ocean. This is called by the name Fife, and abounds in every thing necessary for the support of life. It is divided at the broadest part by loch Leven, from whence it contracts itself on each side to the town of Crail. There is in it only one river worthy of notice, the Leven. Its whole shores are studded with numerous towns, of which the most eminent, being distinguished for its university, is St. Andrews, called by the ancient Scots St. Regulus. Inland, and almost in the centre of the county, lies Cupar, whither the rest of the Fifeans come for the administration of justice. Where this county meets

* Or peak, or ridge, or summit of Albane, by way of eminence, for the word Drum signifies either.

Strathearn stands Abernethy, the ancient royal seat of the Picts, near to the confluence of the Earn and the Tay.

xxv. The Tay, issuing from loch Tay, a lake in Braidalbane, twenty-four miles in length, is undoubtedly the largest of the Scottish rivers. Bending toward the Grampian hills, it leaves the county of Athole, a fertile region, situate in the heart of the Grampian forest, part of which, at the foot of the mountains, spreading into a plain, is called *Blair* in Athol, which word signifies a soil free from trees. Below Athol, on the right bank of the Tay, is situate the town Caledonia, still retaining its ancient name, although vulgarly called *Dunkeld* *—the hill of Hazel trees; for here the hazel tree spreads

* *Dunkeld*, this derivation of the name is now generally allowed to be correct, though some Gaelic etymologists derive it from *Dun*, ghael *dhun*, "the fortress of the Gaels of the hills." *Stat. Ac.* vol. xx. p. 411. The name *Caledonians*, which belonged to the tribe who formed one part of the Pictish kingdom, Mr. Pinkerton alleges, was given them by their neighbours, "and it would seem," "means woodlanders," as their territories were then covered with woods, and especially the vast *Silva Caledonia*." *Inq.* vol. i. p. 20. The term *Deu Caledones*, Mr. Macpherson derives from their northern position. The *Vecturiones*, the name of the other southern tribe, Mr. P. says, was in fact the proper and real name which the Picts gave themselves, the *Pehtar*, or *Pechtar*, of the Saxon chronicle, the *Vikveria*, or *Vicht veriar*, of the Icelandic writers, softened and Latinized, and he thus accounts for the use of the two names for the same people. "As these, the *Vecturiones*, lived close to the frontiers, and had, in peace, frequent intercourse with the provincials, the name they gave themselves was of course known and used, while the northern Picts living at a distance, the old name of *Caledonia* and *Dicaledonæ* was as naturally retained for them," p. 118, 119. According to Mr. Pinkerton's theory, the Pictish people have been as peculiarly unfortunate in their names, as the "Scottish fabulists" have represented them in their persons; both having been doomed to be devoured by foreigners; the names of their tribes being uniformly swallowed up by alien appellations. But why they should have been first called Picts, and not *Vecturiones*, if the *Vichtveriar* was the appellation they gave themselves, or why they should have been distinguished as Picts and *Caledonians*, and by any name rather than the one they themselves used, are among the puzzles which naturally arise from adopting a theory different from Buchanan's, and from the simplest mode of interpreting the passages in the Roman writers, respecting the ancient inhabitants of Scotland. That *Caledonian* and *Deucaledonian* are Celtic appellations, all agree; that the *Caledonians* were Picts is also granted; that the *Vecturiones* were Picts never was disputed; that, *at the time* when their names were given them, they were different tribes of the same people, and

itself widely in these uncultivated places, and, having covered the country with shady woods, gave a name both to the town and to the tribe. Indeed the nation of the Caledons, or Caledonians, formerly the most illustrious among the Britons, constituted one part of the kingdom of the Picts, which Ammianus Marcellinus * divides into the Caledons, and the Vecturions, of whom, now, scarcely the wreck of a name remains. Beneath Caledonia about twelve miles, on the same right bank, is Perth. On the left bank below Athole, looking towards the east, lies the Carse of Gowrie, a noble corn country. Beyond this again, between the Tay and the Esk, extends the county of Angus, or, as the ancient Scots term it, *Æneia*, by some called *Horrestia*,† and by the English *Forrestia*.‡ In this tract are the cities of Cupar and Dundee, which Boethius, desirous of gratifying his countrymen, calls *Deidonum*,§ but of which, I think, the ancient name was *Taodunum*, that is a hill near the Tay, *Dun* signifying a hill, at the bottom of which the town is built. Beyond the Tay, about fourteen miles further, direct along the shore, we meet

that that people were originally from the same root, i. e. Celtic, is the most natural inference, else, why should the most stable names, of the capital *Dunkeld*, the people *Caledonians*, and the sea *Deucaledonian*, have been the original designations. That the tribe of *Vecturiones* disappeared, is easily accounted for by their proximity to the Roman province, and their inhabiting the lower part of the country.

* Ammianus Marcellinus, a Greek historian, was born at Antioch, and served as a soldier under Julian. He wrote a Roman history in Latin from the reign of Nerva to the death of Valens, in 31 books, of which 18 only remain, and died about A. D. 390.

† The *Horesti* are mentioned by Tacitus but omitted by Ptolemy. They possessed the district, between the Forth on the south and the Tay on the north, comprehending the shires of Clackmannan, Kinross and Fife, with the east part of Strathern, and the country lying west of the Tay as far as the river Brand. The name is supposed to be derived from the natural strength of the country, and the people to have been a tribe of the Caledonians—that is a tribe of the same nation to which the Caledonians, as the most powerful of the tribes, gave the original name, and who were afterwards denominated Picts. These, along with the tribe *Venricones*, were afterwards comprehended under the general appellation of *Vecturiones*, one of the two grand denominations of the Pictish people.

‡ *Forrestia*, Woodland.

§ *Deidonum*, the gift of God.

with Aberbrothick, or Arbroath, then the promontory of Redhead, conspicuous at a great distance. The river South Esk, intersects this district, and another, the North Esk, separates it from the Mearns. The face of the country is, for the most part, champaign and level, till beyond Fordun, and Dunnotter, a castle of the earl Marischals, where it meets the Grampians. From thence it declines, sloping gradually towards the sea.

xxvi. Beyond the Mearns, toward the north, is the mouth of the river Deva, commonly called Dee; and not quite a mile beyond the Dee, is the river Don. Upon the one stands Abredonia, famous for its salmon fishery, and upon the other are the Episcopal see and two flourishing universities. This last I find, in old records, styled Abredea, but both places have the common appellation Aberdeen, and are distinguished from each other by the epithets old and new. At a little distance, between these rivers, the county of Marr begins; narrow at first, but widening by degrees, it extends for the space of sixty miles, till it reaches Badenoch. Badenoch is wholly mountainous, and sends forth rivers into both the east and west seas. Aber, joined to Badenoch, and sloping gently towards the Deucaledonian sea, is a region—for a Scottish one—remarkably rich in the products both of the water and of the land; and, besides being happily adapted for tillage and pasture, it is rendered delightful from the shady groves, and the pleasant rivulets and fountains with which it is adorned. In fish, it excels every other country of Scotland; for, over and above the immense quantities which so many rivers afford, the sea also bountifully contributes her supply: passing through the lowlands by a long channel, it is stopped by the higher ground, where it expands itself and forms a kind of gulf, or rather loch, whence, it is called Aber; Aber, in the language of the country, signifying a bay or road for a ship, and the same name is given to the region lying in the immediate vicinity. Those who in English apply the term to both, that is, to the arm of the sea, and to the country, absurdly enough, call them Lochaber. These three countries, of Aber, Badenoch, and Marr, comprehend the whole breadth of Scotland between the two seas, the German, and the Western ocean.

xxvii. On the north, next to Marr, stands Buchan, divided from it by the river Don. Of all the counties of Scotland this stretches farthest along the German Ocean. It is pretty well supplied with pasture, has a good breed of sheep, and is capable of affording all the other necessities of life, in sufficient quantity for its own consumpt. The rivers abound with salmon, except the Rattray, which none of that species enters. On the coast there is a cave * deserving of particular notice. The water as it distils drop by drop from a natural arch, is converted into pyramids of stone, and unless the cave were frequently cleared, the whole space would soon be completely filled. The stone which is thus formed, is somewhat of a nature between ice and rock, but it is brittle, and never attains to the hardness of marble. When I was at Toulouse, in the year 1544, I was informed, by persons of undoubted veracity, that there is a cave perfectly similar to the above, in the neighbouring Pyrenees.

xxviii. North from Buchan are two small regalities, Boyne, and Aine, that reach to the river Spey, which separates them from Moray. The Spey rises in the ridge of Badenoch, already noticed, and not far distant from its source is a loch, from whence the river Lochtee rushes in a westerly direction to the ocean. At the mouth of the river a magnificent city is said to have flourished formerly, called Innerlochtee, † and, indeed, whether we consider the nature of the soil in the

* This cave is well known by the name of the Dropping Cave, or white cave of Slains. The water oozes through a spongy porous rock, and falls down in pretty large drops, like a very moderate shower of rain; these drops gradually and imperceptibly line the cave with curious stalactical incrustations. A great deal of these were taken some years ago, and made into lime. In 1793 it was again all covered, and had the appearance of white marble.

† Inverlochy. The ruins which marked this spot still remain, though probably much more dilapidated than in the days of Buchanan. They were described thus in the year 1796, "There was at one time a thriving borough of the same name adjacent to this building—the castle of Inverlochy—which some of the old Scotch historians call the emporium of the west of Scotland; but of this borough there are now no other vestiges than some paved works in different places which were probably the streets of it. The castle has survived the borough, and now stands alone in ancient magnificence, after having seen the river Lochy, that formerly filled its ditches, run in another course,

neighbourhood, or its convenience for navigation and sea carriage, the place appears admirably adapted for a commercial station. Induced by these advantages, for several ages, our ancient kings inhabited there the castle of Evonia, which some now imagine was the same as Dunstaffnage,* although the vestiges and rubbish of that castle are still shown in Lorn. There are some small regalities between Buchan† and the Western Sea, but as they contain nothing remarkable, or worthy of relating, it is not necessary I should stop to describe them.

and outlived all history, and all tradition of its own builder and age. It is a quadrangular building, with round towers at the angles, measuring 30 yards every way within the walls. The towers and ramparts are solidly built of stone and lime, 9 feet thick at the bottom, and drawing in to the thickness of 8 feet above. As to the height of the towers, they are not so entire as to show what it was, nor are they all equally high, as it is probable they were all on a level at top, and standing upon uneven ground. The western tower, which stood on the lowest foundation, is the highest of them all, and the largest every way. It does not seem to have been less than fifty feet when it was all entire, and the rest of the towers may probably have been about 40 feet in height. The rampart between them seems in general to be about 25, and from that to 30. The inner area seems to have been uncovered, but all the towers were probably roofed by placing some cover above a joisting of beams of wood, for which there are still remaining some square openings in the walls, at the top as well as below that for the floors of the first and second stories. Ten or twelve yards without the walls the ditch begins, which surrounded the castle, from 30 to 40 feet broad, and was filled with water from the river. The whole building, including the towers, covers about 1600 yards, and within the outside of the ditch are 7000 square yards, which is nearly an acre and a half of English measure. There is a tradition that this was once a royal residence." *Statis. parish Kilmanivaig.*

* Dunstaffnage castle in Lorne, the seat of the Scottish kings previous to their succession to the Pictish throne. It contained the famous stone chair till that event, when it was carried to Scone. Some of the ancient regalia were preserved in it, say the writers of the *Ency. Brit.* till the present century, [18th] when the keeper's servants, during his infirm years, embezzled them for the silver ornaments. The castle is square, the inside only 87 feet. The masonry is very ancient, and the tops battlemented, but nothing now remains except the outer walls. Its founder is unknown. The duke of Argyll is hereditary keeper, under the crown.

† Buchan. For Buchan, Ruddiman proposes to read Badenoch, as between Buchan and the Western Sea lie Garioch, Marr, Athole, &c. which Buchanan has described; but between Badenoch are only Glen Tarff, Glen Roy, Glen Elg, &c.; obscure and insignificant districts.

xxix. Moray, or Varar, as it is thought to have been formerly called, reaches from the Spey as far as the Ness. Between these rivers the German Ocean, driving back as it were the land towards the west, with a vast arm abridges its extent. So abundant is this district in corn and pasturage, and so much beautified, as well as enriched, by fruit trees, that it may truly be pronounced the first county in Scotland. It has two towns worthy of notice, Elgin, near the river Lossie, which still retains its ancient name, and Inverness, which has its appellation from the Ness. This river flows from Loch Ness, a lake twenty-four miles long. The waters of this lake are almost always tepid, nor ever so cold at any time as to congeal; and, even in the hardest winter, if a fragment of ice be thrown into it, it is speedily dissolved by the warmth of the water. Beyond Loch Ness, towards the west, the main land extends only about eight miles, so slender is the isthmus which prevents the two seas from joining, and rendering the rest of Scotland a separate island, and all the space, likewise, between this isthmus and the Deucaledonian Sea is much intersected by bays running inland.

xxx. The country lying beyond the Ness and the isthmus used to be divided into four provinces. Beyond where the Ness disembogues itself into the German Ocean is Ross-shire, running out into the sea in lofty promontories, which the name itself indicates, for Ross, in the Scottish tongue, signifies a promontory. It is upon the whole longer than it is broad; for it reaches from the German to the Deucaledonian Sea. That part which rises into mountains is rough and uncultivated; but that which extends into plains is scarcely inferior to any country in Scotland for fertility. It has some pleasant vallies, watered with fine trouting streams, and several well stored lakes, the largest of which is Loch Broom. The shore recedes gradually from the Deucaledonian Sea, and inclines back towards the north-east. On the opposite coast* the German Ocean, opening a way to itself among the stupendous cliffs of the most lofty rocks, expands within into a spa-

* The bay here described, [the Portus Salutis,] is Cromarty Frith, one of the finest bays in Great Britain. The entrance is between two headlands,

cious basin, affording a safe harbour and certain refuge against every tempest; for the passage is not difficult, and, once entered, the largest fleets may ride secure from winds and waves. At the northernmost extremity of Ross-shire lies Naver, named from the river Naver, which, following the country dialect, is commonly called Strathnaver. It is bounded on the south by Ross-shire, the Deucalionian Sea washes it on the north-west, and on the east it reaches to Caithness. Sutherlandshire is so situated in the midst of all these counties, that it borders on them all, and on one side or other touches some of them; for it has Strathnaver on the west, Ross-shire on the south and east, and Caithness on the north. The inhabitants from the nature of the country, are more devoted to pasturage than tillage. There is nothing remarkable in this county, that I know of, except mountains of white marble, a thing wonderfully rare in cold countries, but almost of no use, the refinement which requires this luxury not yet having spread thus far.

XXXI. Caithness is the last county of Scotland, towards the north, on which side Strathnaver runs together with it; and with these two districts, the breadth of Scotland contracts into a narrow front. On this front rise three promontories. The highest, in Naver, is, according to Ptolemy, * Orcas, or Tarvedum;† the other two, somewhat lower, are in Caithness, Vervedrum, now Hoy,‡ and Berbium, imperfectly named Dume, by Hector Boethius, now commonly called Dunsbie, otherwise Duncans bei, of which Duns-bei seems to be a contraction; for, at the foot of the hill is a little bay,

about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant, called the *Souters* of Cromarty, a name which Sir Thomas Urquhart derived from the Greek, Σωτηρες, preservers, no bad hint to Gaelic etymologists. And such is the extent of sea room within, that almost the whole British navy might ride here in safety.

* Strathy head. † Dunnet head. ‡ Duncansbay head. I have given these three names as, what appear to me, the only three capes which correspond with the description of the text; although I am inclined to believe the Orcas, or Tarvedum of Ptolemy, to be Cape Wrath. What I have termed Strathy head, is, in older translations supposed to be Farro, or Far-out-head; and what I call Dunnet head, they supposed to be Strathy head. Rudiman is of this opinion. But as this inverts the order of Buchanan, and places two capes in Naver, and only one in Caithness, while the interpre-

which vessels coming from the Orkneys use as a harbour, and there a bay is commonly called bei. When this bay, therefore, was called by the neighbouring inhabitants Duncan's or Donach's bay, from either of these words conjoined, the country language derived Duns-bei. In this district Ptolemy places the Cornavii, * of whose name some traces yet remain; for the castle of the earls of Caithness is still vulgarly called Gernico; and those who were called Cornavii, by Ptolemy and other foreigners, seem to have been called Kernici, by the Britons; and not in this district only, but in the most opposite extremity of the island, Cornwall; where Ptolemy, likewise, places the same Cornavii, and whom those who retain the ancient British language call Kernic at this day. Nor may it, perhaps, be deemed ridiculous to suppose, that the Cornovalli † is a name substituted for Kernicovalli, that is the Kernic Gauls. And, even in the midst of the island, some obscure vestiges of this name still remain. Thus Beda

tation I have given agrees both with the face of the country and the text of our author, I cannot hesitate in adopting a meaning which prevents any appearance of obscurity.

* Cornavii. The conjecture here is plausible, and is stated with a modesty expressive of the very secondary rank which Buchanan allotted to fanciful etymologies. If the similarity of names alone could prove the identity of nations, this coincidence would establish the fact, that the same people inhabited the opposite extremities of the island of Albion; and if in Caithness, or the borders of Caithness, and Cornwall, different dialects of a language radically the same with that now called Celtic, were spoken at the time when Buchanan wrote, it would give to his conjectures as much strength as they are well capable of receiving, that that people was the ancient Gael, only differing in their language and tribes, as the Belgæ and Celtæ were universally in that age supposed by the learned to have done. It is a curious circumstance, that, of all the Pictish language, only *one word*, *Peanvahel*, the name of a town at the east end of Antoninus' wall, now thought to be Kinneil, is preserved; and even the property of it is disputed. The Welsh claim it as a corruption of Pen-y-wall, which signifies the head of the wall, and Mr. Pinkerton asserts that the word is broad Gothic, "*Paena*," "to extend," and *Vahel* a broad sound of veal, the Gothic for wall. What that language was, of which only one accredited word is the solitary representative, must in all probability ever remain a puzzle.

† The letters K and C are indiscriminately, Cernici, or Kernici. The castle of the Earl of Caithness is now called Girnigoe.

writes, that the commencement of the wall of Severus was not far distant from the monastery of Kebercurnig, of which monastery not a vestige remains. Not, far distant, however, stands the half ruined castle of the Douglasses called Abercorn, but whether both of these words, or any of them, be a corruption of Kernic, I leave to the reader to determine.

xxxii. It now remains that I say something concerning the islands, that part of the British history which is involved in the greatest confusion. Setting aside, therefore, the more ancient writers, from whom it is impossible to extract any information, I shall follow the writers of our own time, upon whose accuracy and veracity more reliance may be placed. The islands which as it were surround Scotland form three distinct classes, the Western, the Orcades, and the Zetland * isles. Those are called the Western isles which are spread over the Deucaledonian sea, on the west side of Scotland, from Ireland almost to the Orcades. The British historians, of the last and the present age, commonly style them the Hebrides, † certainly a new name, of whose origin no trace can be found among ancient writers. In that part of the ocean some place the Æbudæ, or Æmodæ; but they are at so much

* Or Shetland.

† Buchanan here detects an error of Boethius, with regard to the name of the Western Islands, yet Mr. Pinkerton remarks, “our writers are so ignorant concerning them, [the Western Islands,] that they have, even for more than two centuries, perverted the very name in an odd manner. For since the publication of the notorious history of Hector Boethius, at Paris, 1526, folio, our writers have called these isles Hebrides. I have taken some pains to detect the origin of this blunder,” and, in order to establish his rights as the original discoverer, he proceeds: “The edition of Pliny, 1469, folio, Venetiis, bears Ebudes. That of Solinus, 1473, folio, ib. also bears Ebudes. The Solinus of Aldus, 1518, has Hæbudes, as have all the editions of Pliny and Solinus since. Ptolemy’s works has Ebudæ, Εβουδαι: not Æbuda, as Buchanan and others put upon no authority whatever.” The primary blunder was occasioned, it seems, by a typographical error in an edition of Solinus de Memorabilibus Mundi, &c. published in Paris, 1503, where the name was misprinted Hebrides, and now Mr. P. may be allowed the full merit of having traced out the mistake; but he ought not, therefore, to attempt depriving Buchanan of being both the first discoverer and corrector. Buchanan preferred the acute sound of the Greek *h*, and the Latin *e*, and wrote Æbudes; Mr. P. having been longer in London, was partial to the aspirate *h*, and wrote Hebudes;

variance among themselves, that they scarcely ever agree in situation, number, or name. Strabo, to begin with the oldest, may perhaps be excused for having followed uncertain report, that part of the world not having then been sufficiently explored. Mela* enumerates seven Hemodæ, Martianus Capella as many Acmodæ, Ptolemy and Solinus five Æbudæ; and Pliny seven Acmodæ, and thirty Æbudæ. I shall retain the name most frequently used by the ancients, and designate the whole of the Western Islands Æbudæ. Their site, relative condition, and produce, I shall describe from more recent and more certain authority; following chiefly Donald Monroe, † a pious and diligent man, who went over the whole of them himself, and minutely inspected them in person. They lie scattered in the Deucalionian sea, upwards of three hundred in number, and from time immemorial belonged to the kings of the Scots, until the time of Donald, the brother of Malcolm the third, who ceded them to the king of Norway, in order to obtain his assistance in his unjust usurpation of the Scottish crown. The Danes and Norwegians retained them for about one hundred and sixty years, until being vanquished in a decisive battle by Alexander the third, of Scotland, they restored them. Sometimes, however, trusting to

which ought to be preferred let the learned decide. But the error was noticed and amended, not half a century after it was propagated, for Boethius' history was published 1527, and Buchanan's in 1578. Why the name Hebrides, became so current, was from its having been adopted by Bellenden, in his translation of Boethius, the only history of Scotland patronized at court, and read or known by the Scottish nobility; and, now, it would be as useless as impracticable to substitute, with affected precision, the ancient appellation for one which has received the sanction of four centuries, and is universally adopted. In this translation I use Æbudæ, because I follow my author, but not with the most distant idea of attempting to alter the established name Hebrides; to talk of error, where universal usage has sanctioned an appellation, is being rather too hypercritical.

* Mela Pomponius, a Latin geographical writer, born in Spain, flourished under the emperor Claudian.

† Donald Monro, archdeacon of the isles, a native of Killearn; his account, which Buchanan embodied in his history, has been repeatedly printed; the last edition was by John Wylie & Co. Glasgow, 1818, in the second vol. of their *Miscellanea Scotica*, a valuable collection of curious tracts, relative to the history, antiquities, topography, and literature of Scotland.

their strength, and enticed into seditions, the islanders have asserted their liberty, and erected kings of their own. Among others, John, of the family of Donald, * lately usurped the royal title.

XXXIII. In their food, clothing, and in the whole of their domestic economy, they adhere to ancient parsimony. Hunting and fishing, supply them with food. They boil the flesh with water poured into the paunch or the skin of the animal they kill, and in hunting sometimes they eat the flesh raw, merely squeezing out the blood. They drink the juice of the boiled flesh. At their feasts they sometimes use whey, after it has been kept for several years, and even drink it greedily; that species of liquor they call bland, † but the greater part quench their thirst with water. They make a kind of bread, not unpleasant to the taste, of oats and barley, the only grain cultivated in these regions, and, from long practice, they have attained considerable skill in moulding the cakes. Of this they eat a little in the morning, and then contentedly go out a hunting, or engage in some other occupation, frequently remaining without any other food till the evening. They delight in variegated garments, especially stripped, and their favourite colours are purple and blue. Their ancestors wore plaids of many different colours, and numbers still retain this custom, but the majority, now, in their dress, prefer a dark brown, imitating nearly the leaves of the heather, that when lying upon the heath in the day, they may not be discovered by the appearance of their clothes; in these, wrapped rather than covered, they brave the severest storms in the open air, and sometimes lay themselves down to sleep even in the midst of snow. In their houses, also, they

* Macdonald.

† Bland is a drink used also in the Shetland Islands. Jamieson's Dict. "Having taken away the butter from their churned milk, as likewise the thicker parts of this milk which remains after the butter is taken out; they then pour in some hot water upon the serum, whey, or the thinner parts of the milk. Which being done they make use of it for their drink, keeping some for their winter provision; and this drink is so ordinary with them that there are many people in the country who never saw ale or beer all their life time." Brand's Descript. Orkney, Zetland, &c. p. 76.

lie upon the ground; strewing fern,* or heath, on the floor, with the roots downward and the leaves turned up. In this manner they form a bed so pleasant, that it may vie in softness with the finest down, while in salubrity it far exceeds it; for heath, naturally possessing the power of absorption, drinks up the superfluous moisture, and restores strength to the fatigued nerves, so that those who lie down languid and weary in the evening, arise in the morning vigorous and sprightly. They have all, not only the greatest contempt for pillows, or blankets, but, in general, an affectation of uncultivated roughness and hardihood, so that when choice, or necessity induces them to travel in other countries, they throw aside the pillows, and blankets of their hosts, and wrapping themselves round with their own plaids, thus go to sleep, afraid lest these barbarian luxuries, as they term them, should contaminate their native simple hardiness. Their defensive armour consists of an iron headpiece, and a coat of mail, formed of small iron rings, and frequently reaching to the heels. Their weapons are, for the most part, a bow, and arrows barbed with iron, which cannot be extracted without widely enlarging the orifice of the wound; but a few carry swords or Lochaber axes. Instead of a trumpet, they use a bagpipe. They are exceedingly fond of music, and employ harps of a peculiar kind, some of which are strung with brass, and some with catgut. In playing they strike the wires either with a quill, or with their nails, suffered to grow long for the purpose; but their grand ambition is to adorn their harps with great quantities of silver and gems, those who are too poor to afford jewels substituting crystals in their stead. Their songs are not inelegant, and, in general, celebrate the praises of brave men; their bards seldom choosing any other subject. They speak the ancient Gaelic language a little altered.

xxxiv. The islands round Scotland, where the ancient language prevails, and which are called the Western Islands,

* By a curious typographical error in the Elzivir edition of the History, they made this passage substernant *filices*, they strewed *flints*, instead of *filices*, fern. "Rather," says Ruddiman, "a hard bed."

are commonly thus arranged. The first of the whole is Man, by some erroneously called Mona, but by the ancients Eubonia, and, by Paulus Orosius,* Mevania, or rather Mænavia. In the old tongue it is called Manim. The last age named the chief town Sodor,† where the bishop of the isles had his seat. It is a principality, and is almost equally distant from Ireland, from Galloway in Scotland, and from Cumberland in England. It is twenty-four miles long, and eight broad. Next, in the Frith of Clyde, rises Ailsa, a lofty rock, precipitous on every side, and inaccessible except by one small pathway. It is uninhabited almost the whole year, except at certain times when an immense number of small craft assemble there for the cod and haddock fishery. It abounds in rabbits, and sea fowls, particularly that large species of goose, called the solan goose. It is almost at an equal distance from Carrick, on the south-east, from Ireland, on the south-west, and from Cantyre, on the north-west. About twenty-five miles north from Ailsa, lies the isle of Arran, twenty-four miles long, and sixteen broad. It rises every where into high and rugged mountains. The sea coast only is inhabited. Where it is lowest the sea forms a pretty large bay, whose entrance is protected by the island Molas,‡ besides which, the mountains towering on every side break the force of the wind, and render it a very safe harbour for shipping. In these waters, perpetually tranquil, the fishing is so abundant, that if more be caught than what are required for one day, the inhabitants throw them back again into the sea, as into a

* Paulus Orosius, a learned monk, a Spaniard, educated by St. Augustine. He wrote a description of Britain and Ireland.

† Sodor. Whether the capital of Man was ever named Sodor, is problematical. It is now well known, that the name Sodor, or the title Sodorensis, originated from the designation given by the Norwegians, to one division of the islands in the neighbourhood of Scotland, while they were under their dominion. They called all those to the north of the point of Ardnamurchan in Argyshire, *Nordereys*, that is the northern islands, and those to the south of this point, *Sudereys*, that is the southern islands: the latter division including Arran, Bute, Cumbræ, &c. and among others Man and Iona. The bishop takes his title from the southern islands, because these were reckoned the most important. Jamieson's Hist. Acct. of Ancient Culdees, p. 45.

‡ Or Molassa. Lamash, sometimes called the holy island.

fish pond. Not far from Arran lies the little island Flada, swarming with rabbits. Bute, * eight miles long, and four miles broad, is situate within the Frith of Clyde, distant, as they say, eight miles north-east from Arran, half a mile north-west from Argyle, and six miles east from Cunninghame. It is almost wholly level, and well adapted for corn and pasturage. It possesses one town, which bears the name of the island, and in it stands the ancient castle of Rothsay. There is also another castle on the bay, which is called, in the country language, Cames, or Kames castle. On the south-west is the low island Inch-Mernoch, for its size both fertile and well cultivated. It is a mile long, and half a mile broad. Farther up the Frith of Clyde are the two Cumbraes, the greater and the less, separated only by a narrow space; the larger fruitful in corn, and the less abounding in fallow deer.

xxxv. Little more than a mile from the promontory of Cantyre lies Avona, [now Sanda,] that is Portuosa, full of havens, a name affixed on account of its being a naval station; for, when the Danes had possession of these islands, it was the general rendezvous for their fleets. South-west of the same promontory, and opposite the coast of Ireland, stands Rathlin; and about four miles distant is the small island of Cara; and a little beyond it is Gigha, six miles long, and about a mile and a half broad. Jura is situate twelve miles distant from Gigha, and is almost twenty-four miles in length. The lands upon the sea coast are pretty generally cultivated, but the interior is covered with woods, and abounds with a great variety of deer. Some think it was anciently called Dera, which word, in the Gothic language, signifies a stag. Two miles from thence lies Scarba, four miles long, from east to west, and one mile broad. It is very thinly inhabited. Between this island and Jura the tide runs so strong, that it is impossible, except at certain seasons, to oppose the current. Besides these, a number of smaller islands lie scattered about; Ballach, or Genistaria, Gewrasdil, Lunga, and both the Fidlas;

* The computation being in Scottish miles, which in the days of Buchanan were nearly the same as the German now, his admeasurement is not very far from correct, although it differs in appearance from that in the common Gazetteers.

likewise the three Garvillans, distinguished by their separate appellations; then Culbrein, Dunchonill, Luparia, Belnachna, Vickeran, Gavin, Luing, Seill, and Shuna. The last three are fertile in corn and cattle, and are under the jurisdiction of the earls of Argyle. Next to these is Slate, so named because the tiles which are called slates are dug out of a rock in this island. Then come Naosg, Easdale, Schanni, and the isle called Tian, from an herb noxious to corn, somewhat like guild, but only not of such a bright yellow; and Uerga, and the Royal Island. Next Dhu, that is black island, Eglisch, the island of the church, and Triarach. Then follow the High, Low, Green, Heath islands; also, the islands of Trees, of Goats, and of Rabbits; that which is denominated the island of the Otiosi, and Erisbach: likewise Lismore, eight miles long, and two broad, which was formerly the seat of the bishop of Argyle, and in which, besides the productions common to the others, metals have been found. Then Ovilia, and Siuna, Il'na port, and Geirach, likewise Flada, the isle of Cloich, and Gramry, the islands More, Ardiescara, Musadil, and Bernera, formerly named the Holy Sanctuary; the forest of the noble yew, Molochasgir; Drinacha, covered with thorns, the elder tree, and ruins of extensive buildings; Drimach, an island full of wood, also Ramsay, and Kirrera.

xxxvi. After Jura, the largest of the islands to the west is Isla, which is twenty-four miles long, by sixteen broad, stretching from south to north. It is fruitful in cattle, corn, and deer, and also produces lead. It has a river of fresh water named Laia, and a salt water bay, in which are several islands, besides a fresh water lake called Falangama, formerly the seat of royalty, in which the prince of the islanders assuming the kingly title, was accustomed to dwell. Near to Isla, but smaller, is Round island, called also the island of Council, for there was a court in it, in which fourteen of the chief men sat daily for the administration of justice, and discussing the most important affairs of the country, whose strict equity and moderation secured peace, both at home and abroad, and plenty, the constant attendant on peace. Between Isla and Jura, there is a small island named Rock Isle, from a cairn, or heap of stones collected upon it. On the south

side lie the following islands, Chourna, Maalmori, Osrin, Bridi, Corskera, low island, Immersi, Bethic, Texa, Gearach, Naosig, Rinard, Cana, Tarskir, Achnar, the isle of More, [the big island,] the island of the figure of a man, Jean's island, and the Stackbaddi. At the west corner of Isla, is Oversa, and there too, in the strait, the current sets in so strong, that, except at particular hours, the passage is impracticable; the island Channard, [the island of merchants;] and towards the north-west are situate Usabragt, and Tanast, and Naomph, and the island Banni, the island of a weaver; and about eight miles, rather farther towards the north, from Isla, is Overca, next to it Porcaria, [Sow island;] and about half a mile from Overca, lies Colonsay. North from Colonsay, twelve miles distant from Isla, lies Mull. This island is twenty-four miles in length, and as many in breadth, rugged, indeed, but not unfertile. Its numerous woods are well peopled by large herds of deer: and it has a very safe harbour. On the side opposite to the island of Columba, there are two rivers, well stocked in salmon, besides which, there are several smaller streams, by no means sterile. It has also two lochs, in each of which are several islands, and every island contains a castle. The sea, breaking in in divers places, forms four bays, all frequented by herrings. On the south-west is Columbaria, or the island of doves. Era lies to the south-east. Both islands are well adapted either for pasture, tillage, or fishing.

xxxvii. Two miles distant from these, lies the Island of Saint Columba,* two miles long, and above a mile broad, fruitful in whatever such a climate can produce, illustrious

* This celebrated island is mentioned under three names, Hii, Iona, and Icolmkill; Bede calls it Hii, but the proper name is I, pronounced like ee English, which in Gaelic signifies an island, and is called so by way of eminence to this day. By Monkish writers it is called Iona, which signifies the Island of waves, a name very characteristic of it in times of storm; in more modern times, it was called I-collumb-kill, in honour of Columba. According to Bede, Iona was given by the Picts to Columba, about 550. According to the Annals of Ulster, and of Tighernac, which Archbishop Usher seems disposed to follow, the island of Iona was given to Columba by Conal, or Conval, son of Congal, king of the Dalriad Scots; as, however, it lay on the confines of the kingdoms of the Picts and Scots, Dr. Jamieson supposes it might possibly be claimed by both, and what the one sovereign

beyond all the rest, for its ancient and venerable monuments, but yet more splendidly distinguished by the strict discipline, and holiness, of Saint Columba. There were in it two monasteries, one for Monks, and another for Nuns; a Cathedral, or as it is now called, a parish church, and many chapels, munificently endowed by the kings of the Scots, and the princes of the Isles. In the Abbey of Saint Columba, the bishops of the Isles fixed their residence, after their ancient seat in Eubonia was taken possession of by the English. Amidst the ruins, there remains still a burial place, or cemetery, common to all the noble families of the Western Islands, in which, conspicuous above the rest, stand three tombs, at a little distance from each other, on these are placed three sacred shrines turned towards the east, and on their western sides are fixed small tablets, with inscriptions, indicating to whom the tombs belong. That which is in the middle, has as its title, *TUMULUS REGUM SCOTIÆ, The Tomb of the Kings of Scotland*, for there forty-eight kings of the Scots are said to

had given, the other might pretend to confirm. It was for ages the principal seat of the Culdees, "whose doctrine," says the learned historian of Iona, "as far as we may judge from that of Columba, was at least comparatively pure. As he was himself much given to the study of the Holy Scriptures, he taught his disciples to confirm their doctrine by testimonies, brought from this unpolluted fountain, and declared that only to be the Divine counsel which he found there. His followers, as we learn from Bede, would receive these things only which are contained in the writings of the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles, diligently observing the works of purity and piety, hence it has been said, that, for several generations, with the errors which at that time prevailed in the church of Rome, they seem not to have been in the least tainted." Smith's *Life of Columba*, quoted in *Hist. Acc. of the Ancient Culdees*. The Culdees have been eagerly claimed both by Presbyterians and Episcopalians, but neither appear to have made their title good, though the Presbyterians have established something very like Presbyterian equality and ordination. Pinkerton, who favours neither side, is perhaps nearly right in his conclusion, that they had some kind of bishops, "But that these bishops differed very much from the warlike bishops of the ninth and following centuries, and from the opulent and idle bishops of later times." The ruins of I, by the care and attention of the family of Argyle, are kept in a state of fine preservation; but the tombs of the ancient kings have lost their inscriptions. The place is still pointed out where they stood. Till within these last few years, all the females were buried at the nunnery, and all the males at the abbey.

have been buried. The one upon the right is inscribed, *TUMULUS REGUM HIBERNIÆ, The Tomb of the Kings of Ireland*, where four Irish kings are reported to rest. And upon the one upon the left is engraved, *TUMULUS REGEM NORVEGIÆ, The Tomb of the Kings of Norway*, general rumour having assigned to it the ashes of eight Norwegian kings. In the remainder of the cemetery, the chief families of the islanders have each their separate sepulchres. Six of the small, but not unfruitful, neighbouring islands, were bestowed by the ancient kings of Scotland, or the lords of the Isles, upon the monastery of Columba. SOA, although it has convenient pasturage for sheep, yet reaps more advantage from the breeding of sea fowl, particularly from the eggs. Next lies Nun's island, then Rudana, then Reringa; after which comes Skenia, about half a mile distant from Mull. It has a parish priest, but most of his parishioners reside in Mull. Along the shore there are plenty of rabbits. Eorsa is about a mile distant. All of these islands are under the jurisdiction of the monastery of Columba.

XXXVIII. Two miles from Eorsa lies Ulva, five miles long, rich, for its size, both in corn and pasturage. It possesses a commodious road for ships of war. South-east is Colvansa; the soil is fertile, and there is a hazel wood in it. Stretching from south to north, about three quarters of a mile distant, stands Gomatra, two miles long, and about a mile broad. Four miles south from Gomatra is Staffa. Both have convenient harbours. Four miles from these, receding to the south-west, are the two Carniburghs, the greater, and the less, so surrounded by precipitous rocks, and a rapid current, that the natural fortifications, aided by art, are completely impregnable. A mile distant from these, there is an island whose soil is almost wholly black, being a compound of rotten wood and old moss. The turf is dried for firing, and hence the island is called Peat island, for so they term that species of earth, which in English is called moss. Then succeeds Lunga, two miles in length; and next Baca, about half the size. Six miles westward lies Tirea, eight miles long, and three broad, the most productive of all the western islands, for it abounds in cattle, corn, fish, and sea fowl. There is a fresh water lake in it, in

the midst of which stands an ancient castle, and it has a port capable of receiving ships of burden. Two miles hence stands Gunn. At an equal distance from Gunn lies Coll, twelve miles long, and two broad, remarkably fertile. Not far from thence is Calfa, almost wholly covered with wood; then the two Green islands, the larger and the smaller, and as many of the same name, opposite the promontory of Mull. Near these lie two others, named Glasse, or the Cerulean islands. Then Ard-an-rider, that is the high island of the horseman. Next Luparia, or the island of wolves; and after that, Big island. South from the island of Coll, sixteen miles long, from east to west, and six broad, rises Rum with its high and woody hills. Being only inhabited in a few places, the sea fowl every where in the fields, deposite their eggs, of which any quantity may be collected in the spring. In the lofty rocks, the sea geese,—of which we have spoken before,—are taken in great numbers. Four miles to the south-east, is the isle of Horses; and half a mile farther is the island of Swine, abundantly supplied, considering its extent, with all the necessaries of life. The falcon eagle builds there. It has a pretty good harbour. At no great distance are Canna, and Egg, small but fruitful, the latter abounding in solan geese; and near them is Soavritail, better fitted for hunting than for the other pursuits of life.

xxxix. Sky is the largest of all the islands on the west coast of Scotland. It extends from south to north forty-two miles, and varies in breadth from eight to twelve. It rises in several places into mountains covered with woods, and among the woods, there is excellent pasturage. The plains are fertile in corn and black cattle, besides which, it is celebrated for its herds of mares. It has five large rivers, abounding in salmon, and likewise a great many smaller streams in which they are taken. The sea, breaking in upon the coast on all sides, forms in the cavities a number of bays, three of which are spacious, and thirteen smaller, all abounding in herrings. There is also a fresh water lake, in which there are seven castles. The island, in the ancient Scottish tongue, was called Skeannach, that is, winged, because the promontories, among which the sea flows, stretched themselves out as so many wings. It is now,

however, usually called Sky, that is, a wing. Around it lie scattered, the small islands Oransa, producing corn and cattle; Cunicalaria, abounding in wood and rabbits; and Paba, infamous for robberies, where the thieves, from their lurking places in the woods, with which it is covered, intercept the unwary travellers. Eight miles to the north-west, Scalpa is situate. Besides other advantages, the woods contain large herds of stags. Between the mouth of loch Carron and Raarsa, lies Crowling, a safe station for ships. Two miles north from Scalpa is Raarsa, seven miles long, and two broad. It has woods of beech trees, and many deer in them. Half a mile from Raarsa is Rona, covered with wood and heath. In a deep bay it has a harbour, dangerous for voyagers, as it affords a covert for pirates, whence to surprise the passengers. In the mouth of a bay, from its shallowness called Gareloch,—stands an island of the same name. Six miles north from Rona, is Fladda; two miles from Fladda, Tulinmen; and, on the south side of Sky, Oransa. A mile distant lies little Buia, next great Buia, and then five smaller islands of little note; after which, Isa, fertile in corn; near it, Ovia, [Egg island,] then Askerna, and Linadell; and, in the compass of about eighty miles, to the north-west of Sky, are Linga, and Gigarmenta, Bernera, Megala, Paba, Flada, Scarpa, or the isle of Wedders,* Sandera, and Vatersa, which, besides a great many other advantages, possesses a capacious harbour, capable of receiving ships of the largest size, in which a vast number of fishermen assemble at stated seasons, from all the surrounding regions. These last nine islands are subject to the Bishop of the Isles.

XL. Two miles distant from Vatersa lies Barra, seven miles long, from the south-west to the north-east, tolerably fertile in corn, but chiefly remarkable for the cod-fishery.† On the

* Close by the island of Mingalay, is a high rock, with very luxuriant grass growing on the top of it. The inhabitants of this island climb to the top of it, at the risk of their lives, and by means of a rope carry up their wedders to fatten. This must be the Scarpa Vervecum, the isle of Wedders, mentioned by Buchanan. Statist. Acct. vol. xiii. p. 328.

† It still employs about 20 boats, containing 5 or 6 men each, and exports from 30,000 to 40,000 fish yearly.

north side an arm of the sea, passing through a narrow channel, expands into a loch in the interior, in which there is a small island, with a strongly fortified castle* upon it. On the north side of Barra stands a verdant hill, from whose summit springs a fountain of clear water, the source of a river, which carries along with it to the neighbouring sea, certain small but unformed animalcula,† which appear in part, but indistinctly, to be a species of shell-fish, which we commonly call cockles. The part of the shore to which these are carried, the inhabitants call the great sands, because there, upon the ebbing of the tide, a sand bank upwards of a mile in length, is left bare, out of which large shells are dug, believed, in the neighbourhood, to be produced from that seed which the river brings down from the fountain, or at least, to have grown larger in the sea. Between Barra and Uist, are situated the following barren islands, Orbansa, Ovia, Hakerset, Garulinga, Flada, Buia the greater, and Buia the less; Haia, Hellisaia, Gega, Linga, Farra, Fuda, and Heath island.

XLII. North from these lies Uist, thirty-four miles long, and six broad. This island, by the sea flowing over it in

* Castle Bay. The fort is built upon a rock, which must have formerly been almost covered with the sea; it is of a hexagonal form, the wall is near 30 feet high: in one of its angles is a high square tower, on the top of which, at the corner immediately above the gate, is a perforated stone, through which the gockman, or watchman, who sat there all night, let a stone fall upon any person who attempted to surprise the gate by night. Within the wall are several houses, and a well dug in the middle of the rock. The tradition here is, that the fort was built upwards of 500 years ago. *Statist. Acct.* vol. xiii. p. 335.

† Martin found the same opinion current in his day, "They say that the well of Kilbar throws up embryos of cockles, but I could not observe any in the rivulet, the air being at that time foggy." This belief continues to exist among the inhabitants of the island, even to this day. "It is true," says a writer in the *Statist. Account*, vol. xv. p. 337, "there is such a hill, with a spring on the summit of it, but any water coming from it, does not come to the sea, being absorbed by the intervening ground, which is sand." The shell-fish, however, the cockle, is found in amazing abundance on the great sand, and in the years 1792-3, years of great scarcity, it was computed, that not less than from 100 to 200 horse load of cockles, were taken off the sands at low water, every day of the springtides, during the months of May, June, July, and August.

two places at full tide, appears like three islands; at ebb, by the receding of the water, the sands are left bare, and it again assumes the appearance of one. There are many fresh water lakes in it, but one, the chief in point of size, is three miles long. Into this the sea has forced a passage for itself, nor have the inhabitants been able to prevent it, even by interposing a mound of sixty feet, for it insinuates between the huge ill cemented rocks, and often leaves behind it small marine fishes. Here also is caught a species of fish somewhat similar to the salmon, only it has a white belly and a black back, but is without scales. Uist has numerous caves covered with heath, the lurking places of robbers. There are five churches in it. Eight miles west is Helser Vetularum, [of old women,] so named, I suppose, because it belongs to the Nuns of Iona. Thence, a little farther to the north, appears Havesker, which the seals frequent at certain seasons of the year, and are taken in considerable numbers. Almost sixty miles to the north-west lies Hirta, fertile in corn and cattle, but chiefly distinguished for sheep of a breed superior to those of the other islands. The inhabitants are extremely ignorant, especially in what regards religion. After the summer solstice, the lord of the island sends his factor hither to collect the rents, and along with him a priest, who baptizes all the children born in the preceding year; but if by any accident the priest should be forgot, then every man baptizes his own. The islanders pay to their lord a certain number of seals, of wedders dried in the sun, and of sea fowl. The whole island does not exceed a mile in length, and is nearly about as broad. No part of it can be seen from any of the other islands, except three hills, which stand upon the shore, and may be discerned from some elevated situations. On these hills are sheep of exquisite beauty, but, on account of the violence of the tide, they are scarcely ever approached by any person.

XLII. But to return to Uist, on the north promontory of which the island Valey is situate, two miles long, and one broad. Between that promontory and the island of Harris, the following small, but not unfruitful islands are placed, Soa, Stroma, Pabay, Barneraia, Erisay, Enisay, Keligira, little

Saga, and great Saga, Isa, Hirmoora, Scarvay, Gria, Linga, Gillan, Hea, Hoy, Ferelaia, Soa the large, and Soa the less, Senna the great, and Senna the less, Taransa, Slegana, Tuema, and, above Harris, Scarpa. Due west, fifty miles beyond Lewis, are seven islands, which some call Flavannan, others, the Sacred or Sanctuary Islands; they rise into green mountains, but are wholly uninhabited, nor have they any other quadruped, than some wild sheep, which are sometimes taken by the hunters, but are of no value; for instead of flesh they have a kind of tallow, * or, if there be any flesh, it is so disagreeable to the taste, that no person will eat it, unless he be in danger of absolute starvation. Nearly in the same tract but more northerly, lie Garvellan, that is, Craggy Island, Lamba, Flada, Kellasa, and the two isles, Bernara the greater, and the less, also, Buia larger and less, Vexa, Pabay, and Sigrama the greater, likewise named Rabbit Island, from the number of these animals which breed upon it, and Sigrama the less, and the Island of Pigmies. In this last is a church, where the people in the neighbourhood believe that diminutive race to have been buried, and many strangers, on digging deep into the earth, have found, and still find, small and round skulls, and little bones belonging to different parts of the human body, which coincide with the ancient report. On the south-east coast of Lewis, are two bays, styled, the one the South, and the other, the North Loch, in both of which, abundance of fish may be taken during the whole year. On the same side of the island, but verging more to the south, are Fable Isle, Adam's Isle, and the Isle of Lambs; then Huilin, Viccoil, Haverera, Laxa, Era, Icolmkill, Tora, Iffert, Scalpa, Flada, and Shery. On the east side, is a subterraneous cave, arched in the roof, about a bow shot in length, in which small vessels, shelter themselves from the violence of the tide, which rushing past the neighbouring headland with great violence, is exceedingly dangerous to navigators. More to the east lies Old Castle Island, a place fortified by nature, affording plenty of corn and fish, and the eggs of the sea

* The sheep of these islands are still distinguished for their uncommon fatness, and if brought from that pasturage to the continent of Lewis do not survive the change. Statist. Acct. vol. xix. p. 283.

fowl, who build their nests there, supply the inhabitants with abundance of food. Opposite loch Broom is situate the island Eu, almost wholly covered with wood, and of service only to the robbers, who lurk there to surprise travellers. More to the north lies Gruinort, also darkened with wood, and infested with robbers. The island of Priests, on the same sea coast, besides pasturage, abounds in the eggs of sea fowl. Next to it is Afulla; then, not far distant, Habrera the larger, after it Habrera the less, near which is the island of Horses, and again nigh it the island Mertaika. These eight neighbouring islands are situate at the mouth of loch Brien or Broom.

XLIII. At a distance from the islands which encircle the mouth of loch Broom, stretching towards the north, lies Harris and Lewis, sixty miles long, and sixteen broad, for these two divisions form only one island, separated not by the sea, but by the boundaries of the estates and jurisdiction of the chiefs. The southern division is called Harris. In it there was a monastery called Roachilla, built by Macleod of Harris. The island is tolerably productive in corn, which is cultivated more with the spade than by the plow. The pastures are admirably suited for rearing sheep, especially one very high mountain, which is covered with grass to the very summit. Donald Monro, a pious and well informed man, mentions, that he saw when there, old sheep, old for that species of cattle, wandering about without any particular owner, whose number increased greatly from there being neither wolf, fox, nor serpent in that part of the island; although between it and Lewis are some very extensive woods, where numerous herds of low, small bodied deer brouse. In this part of the island, there is a river well stocked with salmon. The northern division, Lewis, is pretty well cultivated in several places along the shore. It has four churches, one castle, seven large rivers, and twelve smaller, all, according to their size, abounding with salmon; and there are numerous bays on the sea coast, frequented by herring, or other small fish. There are here large flocks of sheep, which wander freely upon the heath, or in the woods. These the inhabitants collect yearly into a narrow valley, as into a sheep

fold, and tear off the wool according to their ancient method * of shearing. Great part of the low land is covered with heath. The earth for about a foot deep from the surface is black, consisting of a soil formed, in the course of ages, from moss and rotten wood. This crust, cut into thin oblong sods and dried in the sun, is collected for firing, and burned in place of wood; next year the naked soil, after being dunged with seaweed, is sown with barley. In this island the quantity of whales taken is often so great, that at times, [as the old people tell,] twenty-seven, some very large, and some smaller, have been put aside as the priests' tythes. There is a large cave on the island, in which the water at ebb tide remains two fathom deep; at the flow it stands upwards of four. Seated upon the rocks, a multitude of all sexes and ages are here promiscuously employed, who catch an immense quantity of fish with the line and hook.

XLIV. About sixty miles to the north-east is situate the small island of Rona, low, plain, and well cultivated. The inhabitants are rude, and almost wholly unacquainted with religion. Their chief fixes the number of families † who are to inhabit it, and assigns them larger or smaller flocks as he deems requisite, from which they may derive a comfortable livelihood for themselves, and pay him his rent. All surplus produce, beyond their own subsistence, they send yearly to Lewis, to their lord, who resides there. When they send their rent, which consists of a great quantity of barley meal,

* This was to pull off the fleece, and not to clip it.

† This primitive people existed till the middle of the last century, when a series of misfortunes destroyed the whole inhabitants of the island. "About fourteen years ago, says Martin, a swarm of rats, but none knows how, came into Rona, and in a short time ate up all the corn in the island. In a few months after, some seamen landed there, who robbed the poor people of their bull. This misfortune and want of supply from Lewis for a year, occasioned the death of all that ancient race of people. The island was afterwards re-peopled from Lewis. The following was its state when the Statist. Acct. was published. It is now, 1797, rented by one of the Ness tacksmen at £4 per annum, who regularly every season sends a large open boat and brings from it some corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep, and sometimes a cow, besides some wild fowl and feathers. There were once five families residing upon it, but now only one, who are employed by the tacksmen as servants. Statist. Acct. vol. xix. p. 271.

a kind of grain that grows very plentifully there, sewed up in sheep skins, they send, also, whatever quantity of dried mutton or sea fowl remains of their annual provisions. If at any time they happen to have too many mouths, they send the supernumeraries also to their landlord; and here alone in the universe, I imagine, are to be found a people who know no want, among whom every necessary of life abounds even to satiety. Unacquainted alike with luxury and avarice, they find in their ignorance of vice, that innocence and tranquillity of mind, which others laboriously search for in the discipline and the precepts of wisdom. Nor does any thing seem wanting to consummate their supreme felicity, but that they should understand their own good fortune. There is on this island a chapel consecrated to St. Ronan, and in it there is a spade left constantly, by which, the old men say, when any one dies the place of his interment is always found to be marked out. Besides other fish, many whales are caught here. Sixteen miles to the west is Suilisker, a mile long, which bears no herb, not even fern, its large black rocks being only partially spotted with dark moss, where the sea fowl lay, and hatch their eggs. Hither the inhabitants of Lewis come in boats, before the young are fully fledged, and spend about eight days in gathering and drying them in the sun, after which they return loaded with the fowls and their feathers. In this island there is a rare species of bird, unknown to other regions, which is called Colca,* little inferior in size to a goose. It comes thither every year in the spring, and there hatches and rears its young till they are able to provide for themselves. About that time their feathers fall off, leaving the whole body naked, after which they betake themselves to the sea, and are never seen again till the next spring. What is also singular in them, their feathers have no quill; but a light fine down, without any hard point, and soft as wool, covers the whole body.

* The Colk, or eider duck, is thus described by Martin. It is less than a goose, all covered with down, and when it hatches it casts its feathers, which are of diverse colours. It has a tuft on its head resembling that of a peacock, and a train larger than that of a house cock. The hen has not such ornament and beauty. *Western Islands*, p. 25.

XLV. After the Western Islands follow the Orcades, scattered over the north coast of Scotland, partly in the Deucalionian, and partly in the German Ocean. Both ancient and modern writers agree about the name, but none of them, so far as I know, have explained its meaning; * nor is it ascertained by whom they were at first peopled. All assign to the primitive inhabitants a German origin; but from what nation of Germany they sprung is not mentioned. If we may form any conjecture from their speech, they used both now and formerly, the ancient Gothic language. There are some suppose them to have been Picts, and their strongest argument is, that the strait between them and Caithness is called the Pictland Frith; they think also that these Picts were of Saxon descent, trusting to the verses of Claudian in his seventh Panegyric,

—————Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule :
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

The Saxon life-streams the Orcades wet,
And distant Thulé smokes with Pictish blood,
While icy Ireland weeps her pile of Scots.

* Orcades. The hesitation with which Buchanan expresses himself on subjects that admit of doubt, is a pledge for his veracity when he confidently asserts facts as consistent with his own knowledge, and for the sincerity of his belief in what he advances as truth upon the information of others. With his usual acuteness, he shows that the passage of Claudian, which he quotes, proves nothing, except that the Saxons, Picts and Scots were in his day considered as different nations; and, in Buchanan's time, the Gothic origin of so many of the nations of modern Europe was not suspected; the revival of ancient literature, and the cultivation of the Greek and Roman languages, prevented that attention being paid by the learned to their mother tongues, which was necessary for the investigation of a subject surrounded with so many difficulties. Yet Buchanan had assigned to the Picts a Scandinavian origin, and tells us, that the inhabitants of Orkney were Germans who spoke a Gothic dialect. It is astonishing how long the wisest of men may have the elements of knowledge in their hands, without discovering some very simple mode of application by which they may be rendered importantly useful. The ancients for ages used engraved seals, but never discovered, that, by an application of the same principle to letters, they had in their power the means of multiplying the copies of their written productions. They had in their hands the elements of printing, yet the discovery of their application was made by an obscure artisan of the fourteenth century.

Their error, however, can easily be refuted, partly from Bede, an Anglo-Saxon, who, when he asserts that the praises of God were sung in five different languages by the British, mentions the Pictish as one of the number. But, if the Saxon language had then been spoken by the Picts, he would not have mentioned it separately from the Saxon, which the English then used pure; besides, in these verses of Claudian, he distinctly shews that the Picts were a different people from the Saxons, when he affirms the Orcades to be the country of the one, and Thulé to be the country of the other. But from whencesoever they originate, they use, even in our day, a language different both from the Scots and English, and which does not differ much from the Gothic.

XLVI. In their food, the common people still retain much of their ancient abstemiousness, and thus they almost all enjoy uninterrupted health, both of body and mind. Few die of disease; the greater part are gently dissolved by old age. Among them, the ignorance of delicacies tends more to preserve health than the art and attention of the physician among others; and the same temperance conduces much both to their elegance of form and loftiness of stature. Their supply of corn is but small, except oats and barley, from which they both make their bread and extract a spiritous liquor. Gregarious animals, cows, sheep, and goats, are in abundance, which produce them plenty of milk, cheese, and butter. They have innumerable sea fowl, of which, and of fish, the food of the greater part chiefly consists. There are no venomous animals there, nor any of a monstrous shape. They have little ponies, of a contemptible appearance, but of a strength, for common purposes, almost beyond what appears credible. There are no trees, nor herbs, not even heath, to be found in these islands; and this arises not from any disadvantage of climate or soil, but from the inactivity of the inhabitants, as may be easily seen from the roots of trees which are dug up in many places. As often as foreign wines are brought hither by trading vessels, they drink them greedily, and to excess. They have an ancient goblet, which, that they may have the higher authority for their revels, they pre-

tend belonged to St. Magnus, who first introduced Christianity among them. Its amplitude so far surpasses the dimensions of common drinking cups, that it might pass for a relic of the feast of the Lapithæ.* With this they prove their bishop upon his first appearance among them. He who empties the cup at one draught,—which, however, rarely happens,—they hail with the greatest applause, and from this, as from a joyful augury, they anticipate a prosperous ensuing year; whence it may be easily conjectured, that the moderation I have mentioned, has arisen not so much from reason, or reflection, as from penury; and that that necessity which produced it at the first preserved it so long among them. As they became better acquainted with their neighbours, they became gradually corrupted by luxury, declined from their ancient discipline, and gave themselves up to enervating indulgencies. Many, however, were driven more precipitately from their temperance by commerce with the pirates, who, not daring to visit the inhabitants of the continent, too frequently came to the islands for water, and exchanged with them wine, or other articles of merchandise, or distributed them among them at a very low price; and the islanders, few in number, unarmed, and so dispersed over a stormy ocean, that they could not render mutual assistance to each other, conscious of their own weakness, either received, or did not reject, a proffered security, when joined with gain, and the allurements of pleasure. But this degeneracy of manners is confined almost entirely to the great men and priests; among the common people many traces of pristine sobriety still remain.

XLVII. The sea here is rough and tempestuous, occasioned not only by the violence of the winds, and the nature of the climate, but by the contrary tides from the Western Ocean meeting, and conflicting in the narrow channels between the islands, or by these rushing back from the opposite Frith, with

* The feast of the Lapithæ, in Grecian fable, at which Theseus, Dryas, Mopæus, &c., assembled to celebrate the nuptials of Perithous, and to which the Centaurs were invited and drank very deeply. On the intoxication becoming general, one of the Centaurs insulted the bride, and a scene of murder and confusion ensued.

a furious sweep, and forming whirlpools, which can be overcome by no power either of the oar, or of the sail; to which if any one dare approach too near, he is either driven with impetuous violence again towards the ocean, or is carried away by the rapidity of the tumultuous waves, and dashed to pieces against the rocks; or, if caught in the convolution of the waters, he is ingulphed in the circling ruin. There are two seasons when these straits are passable, either, when upon the ebbing of the tide the conflict of the waters ceases, and the sea remains tranquil; or, when at full tide the violence of the opponent waves becomes languid, and, ocean sounding as it were a retreat to the storm, the swelling billows retire to their caverns. Writers are not agreed respecting the number of the Orcades.* According to Pliny, there are forty islands; others make them not quite thirty. Paulus Orosius comes nearest the truth, who reckons thirty-three, of which thirteen are inhabited, the rest are deserted, and left entirely for sheep pasture. Of these, some are so low and narrow, that, even if cultivated, they could not support above one or two farmers; others, naked rock, or covered with rotten moss.

XLVIII. The largest of the Orcades, was by many of the ancients called Pomona; it is now named The Mainland, because it far exceeds all the rest in size, being about thirty miles long. It is well inhabited, and has five country parishes, besides one town, which the Danes, when they had possession of these islands, called Cracoviaca, now corrupted by the Scots into Kirkwall. In this town there are two castles, of a moderate extent, near to each other, the one the king's, and the other the bishop's. Between them is a church,

* The Orcades, or Orkneys, are first mentioned by Mela, A. D. 41. who states their number at thirty, a calculation pretty correct, for they are twenty-six. Solinus, who wrote about A. D. 240, says they were desert in his time, and according to Torfæus, the name itself is derived from Ork, a desert. Before the sixth century, however, they seem to have been well peopled, and annexed to the Pictish kingdom, as Columba found one of their chiefs at the residence of Bridei the Pictish king. In the ninth century, they were seized by Norwegian pirates, and early in the tenth, Harold Harfagre, king of Norway, reduced them unto subjection to his crown, appointed earls, and settled a regular government in the islands. They afterwards continued appended to Norway, till ceded to Scotland, as the dowry of Margaret, queen to James III

which, for these regions, may be termed magnificent; and between the church and the castles, there are some buildings on both sides, which the inhabitants call two cities, the one the Royal, and the other the Episcopal. The whole island runs out into promontories, between which the bays afford safe anchorage for shipping, and in some places, good harbours. In six different parts of this island are found metals, tin and lead, as good as are found any where in Britain. This island is about twenty-four miles distant from Caithness, the Pentland Frith, which I have already described, running between. In the Frith are scattered many islands, among which, Stroma, four miles distant from Caithness, is not unproductive for its size; but on account of its proximity to Britain, and its being always the property of the earls of Caithness, it is not numbered among the Orcades.

XLIX. Sailing hence to the north, the first of the Orcades which occurs is south Ronaldsay, which is distant from Duncan's bay, or rather Donachbei, about sixteen miles; which space small vessels cross in two hours, by means of the current alone, even when there is no wind, such is the strength of the tide. This island is five miles long, and has a commodious harbour, named after St. Margaret. A little to the east of this, are two small uninhabited islands, left for pasturing cattle. These, in the country dialect, are termed Holmes, that is grassy plains situated by the waters. To the north is the island of Burra; and between it and Pomona, there are two Holmes. From Burra towards the west lie three islands, in the order as named, Suna, Flata, and Fara; and beyond them, Hoy, and Walls, which some call one, and some two islands; because about the equinox, at which time the sea is most furiously agitated, the sands are left bare by the receding waves, and the narrow straits joining together, make one island; while again, at the return of the tide, the sea flowing between produces a kind of two islands. In this island are the highest mountains of the whole Orkneys. Hoy and Walls are ten miles in length,—distant from Ronaldsay eight, and from Donnat Kirk, in Caithness, above twenty miles. On the north is the island of Granisa, situate in a very narrow strait, for Hoy is distant from the nearest continent, that is

the promontory of Pomona, only two miles. These are almost all the islands situate in the strait between Pomona and Caithness. The west side of the Mainland looks towards the open sea, in which there are neither islands nor rocks visible. From the east its promontory runs out a little. Cobesa protects it, as it were, on the north. Nearer the shore, and inclining a little to the east, opposite Kirkwall, from which it is distant two miles, lies Shapinsbay,* six miles long. On the west part of Pomona lies Rusa, also six miles in length. More to the east is Egilsay, where St. Magnus is reported to be buried. Hence to the south lie Vera, Gersa, and to the north, Westray, which is distant from Shetland eighty miles, and Papay, and Stronsa, also about the same distance. About midway, between these islands and Shetland, lies Fara, or Fair island, a beautiful island, seen both from the Orcades and Shetland, for it rises into three very high promontories, girt with lofty rocks, and inaccessible on all sides, unless at the north-east, where it declines a little, and affords a safe harbour for small vessels. The inhabitants are extremely poor; for the fishers, who come annually from England, Holland, and the neighbouring countries, near the ocean, to fish in these seas, plunder, and carry off whatever they choose.

L. The next, after this, is the greatest of the Shetland

* The following addition is given in Ruddiman's Edition of the History, in a note, *ex MS.* After the account of Shapinsbay, he says, "Next towards the west, are two small islands, Gersa, Vera, and Eglisa, four miles long, in which, it is said, Saint Magnus is buried. After these, nearer to the continent, is Rusa, four miles long, and, in some places, three broad, well inhabited; beyond which, to the west, is the small island Broea. Beyond these, towards the north, lies another line of islands, the eastmost of which is Stronza, and next it Linga, five miles long, and two broad, and many Holmes; Etha, five miles long, and two broad, near which, on the east side, lies Fara, beyond these, towards the north, Vistra is situated, which is distinguished by a number of small capes. Beyond Stronza, on the north-east coast of Etha, lies Sanda, ten miles long, and four broad, at the broadest part. It is superior to the whole in fertility, but destitute of firewood, for which they substitute peat, the common fuel in the north, which they obtain in exchange for provisions from the neighbouring Islanders. Beyond Sanda lies north Ronaldsay about two miles square, but never approached, except in summer, and in calm weather

Islands,* which, for that cause, the inhabitants call Mainland, sixty miles long, and in some places sixteen broad, but frequently spreading into small promontories, two of which are worthy of notice; one, long but narrow, runs towards the north, another, broader, stretches south-east. The sea coast is mostly inhabited. In the interior, no living creatures, except fowls, are to be met with. Some years ago, the inhabitants endeavoured to cultivate more extensively than their ancestors, but with little success. Their wealth is from the sea, for every part of the island is most conveniently situate for fisheries. Ten miles north, Zell, or Yell, is situate, twenty miles long, and eight broad, but so inhospitable, that no animal will live there, unless a native. A Bremen merchant, however, it is said, resides here, who imports all foreign merchandise which they require, and supplies them abundantly. The small islands Linga, Orna, Bigga, and Sanctferry, lie between Yell and Mainland. Nine miles beyond is Uist, above twenty miles long, and six broad, level, and not of an unpleasant aspect, except that it is surrounded with a tempestuous sea. Between this and Yell, lie Via, Ura, Linga. Beyond this last, towards the west, are the two Skerries, and Burra; towards the east, Balta, Honnega, Fotlara, or Pheodoray, seven miles long, seven distant from Uist, and eight from Yell, being opposite the straits which divide Uist from Yell. There are, besides a great many petty islands, stretching along the east coast of Mainland, Mecla, three eastern Skerries, Chualsa, Nostuada, Brasa, and Musa; and on the western coast are scattered the western Skerries, Rotti, Papa the less, Venneda, Papa the greater, Valla, Trondra, Burra, Haura greater, Haura less; and among them, are interspersed almost as many Holmes.

LI. The Shetlanders' manner of living is similar to that of the Orcadians, only in their household stuff they are rather more rude. They are clothed after the German fashion, and, according to their abilities, not inelegantly. Their incomes

* The Shetland Islands are about eighty-six in number, of which forty are inhabited, the rest are small holmes, or rocky islets, used only for pasturage. The original inhabitants, both of Orkney and Shetland, appear to have been from Scandinavia.

arise from a coarse, thick cloth, of a peculiar kind, which they sell to the Norwegians; from oil, prepared from the intestines of fish; from butter, and from their fisheries. Their fishing boats are two-oared skiffs, which they buy ready made from the Norwegians. Their fish are partly cured with salt, and partly dried by the wind. From the sale of these articles, they raise money to pay their rents; to provide houses, and furniture, and even a considerable part of their food. In their domestic utensils, those who aim at elegance, sometimes use silver. Their measures, numbers, and weights, are German; their speech too, is German, or rather, old Gothic. They are unacquainted with inebriety, but they invite each other, once a month, to their houses, and spend these days cheerfully, and moderately, without those quarrels, and other mischiefs, which usually spring from drunkenness; and they are persuaded, that this custom tends to cherish and perpetuate mutual friendship. An instance of their firm vigorous health was exhibited in our own day, in the person of a man named Lawrence, who married a wife in his hundredth year, and who, at the age of one hundred and forty, braving the roughest sea, was accustomed to go to the fishing in his own skiff. He died but lately, not cut off by the stroke of any painful disease, but dismissed gently by the gradual decay of old age.

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK II.

AMONG the many impediments which I have encountered in tracing back the History of Britain through a lapse of more than two thousand years, the chief, and that which met me on the very threshold, was the total want of letters, during a long period, in these countries from whence the knowledge of our origin was to be drawn; and then their destruction, almost in their birth, after they had at last been introduced; for, I think, we may affirm with truth, that all the nations which have ever settled in Britain, even to the present time, have come thither from Gaul, Spain, and Germany. The Gauls first received from the Greeks of Marseilles, the characters of that alphabet which they used in matters of business, or in their private correspondence; but though the form of their letters was Greek, the language they used was Gothic. They had not, however, committed either their laws, or their sacred ceremonies to writing in the age of Julius Cæsar, much less their achievements, which yet, it is probable, were highly illustrious. All that they performed, or endured, in Italy, Germany, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, or Asia, would likewise have been buried in oblivion for ever, had not foreign writers transmitted the record to posterity. In Spain, indeed, the Greeks, and before them the Phœnicians, who inhabited the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, understood the use of letters, and likewise one tribe of the Barbarians, the Turdetani, as Strabo informs us, but no ancient historian, so far as I know, existed among them; for Varro, Pliny, and other Latin authors, who incidentally mention any thing about the

first inhabitants of Spain, support their opinions on this subject, rather by conjectures, than by the testimony of writers. In that part of Britain which Cæsar visited, there existed no correct ancient memorials; but in the interior, which was much more barbarous, there were still fewer of any description; so that when he made inquiry, as he tells us, at them about the origin of the nation, and the most ancient inhabitants of the island, he found they could give him no certain information. After Cæsar, we have Cornelius Tacitus, a writer not more distinguished for fidelity than for diligence, yet, although Britain had then been explored by the Roman fleets, and her inmost recesses examined by their arms, he could find, on this subject nothing credible, or worthy to be recorded. Gildas,* likewise, who lived above four hundred years after Tacitus, affirms that he collected his information, not from writings, of which there were none, but from foreign report. Germany was the last of all these countries, where letters were cultivated, and there, when they had nothing which they could produce from ancient records as true, they, with their usual ingenuousness, refrained from supplying the deficiency by fable. I, therefore, think it is but fair, that those who assert they bring the origin of the Britons from ancient annals, should inform us who first discovered these annals, where they have been so long hid, and by what means they have come down to us, through so many ages, uncorrupted.

II. In this dilemma, some have recourse to the bards and senachies, as the preservers of the ancient records, which is truly ridiculous. But this will be better understood when I explain who they were, on whose fidelity it is proposed to rely, in affairs so obscure, and so much anterior to all record. First then, the BARDS. It is clearly stated, by both Strabo, and Ammian, what they were, anciently, and in their day; but Lucan has more briefly, and distinctly enough for the present purpose, informed us in the following verses.

* Gildas, the first British writer, was born in Wales, 520, wrote his History, A. D. 560. He is the only British author of the sixth century, whose works are printed, and the chief authority for the times in which he wrote.

Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas,
 Laudibus in longum vates demittitis ævum,
 Plurima securi fudistis carmina BARDI.

The brave who fall in war, ye Poets, praise
 In strains that shall descend to distant times,
 And spread their fame, ye BARDS, in many songs.

But the very oldest of them were entirely ignorant of letters, and have left no permanent memorial of ancient affairs behind them. Next come the Senachies, * another description of minstrels, who were retained by the chiefs of ancient families, and, likewise, often by other men of property, who recited from memory the genealogies of their patrons. But these, too, were wholly destitute of learning, and, besides, what reliance could be placed on men whose expectations and subsistence depended on adulation; and, even had their veracity been undoubted, all they told, must have been but of little service to the historian. Let us only recollect how often ancient writers are found in error, how often they hesitate, doubt, and fluctuate; how often they not only differ with one another, but how often they do not even agree with themselves. Now, if such things happen to those who apply themselves with great labour to the study of truth, what is to be expected from others, who without the assistance of letters, by which the mistakes of the rash may be rectified, or the falsehoods of the interested detected, trust entirely to memory? without even taking into consideration the liability of that faculty to be impaired by disuse, debilitated by age, or wholly destroyed by disease. If to this be added, as it often must, the desire to praise a patron, or perhaps a love of contradiction, or the influence of anger, or hatred, or envy, which

* Martin, in his description of the Western Isles, describes the Senachies of his day, thus: "I must not omit to relate their way of study, which is very singular; they shut their doors and windows for a day's time, and lie on their backs, with a stone upon their belly, and plaids about their heads, and their eyes being covered, they pump their brains for rhetorical eulogium or panegyric." Dr. Johnson complained, that during his visit he could obtain no accurate account from the Islanders, of the proper avocation of the Senachies. Boswell's Tour.

usually pervert the judgment, who would venture to affirm upon their testimony, either what is true or what is false, or seek for certainty among such uncertain authorities. Wherefore, in such a taciturnity of the ancient writers upon subjects of antiquity, and such an ignorance often even of contemporaneous transactions, that it is impossible to arrive at any certainty, I think it more modest to preserve a decorous silence, than by inventing falsehood, to treat the opinion of others with contempt. Among all the British nations, so great was the want of writers, that, before the invasion by the Romans, every thing was enveloped in the thickest darkness, and buried in impenetrable gloom;* even the transactions of the Romans, we can only collect from Greek and Latin writings; and, as to what happened before their arrival, their conjectures are more worthy of credit than our own romances, for the tales our writers have written, each respecting the origin of his own particular nation, are so absurd that I should never have thought of attempting to refute them, had there not been some, who, treating these fables seriously, delighted in ornamenting themselves with borrowed plumes.

III. The discordance of more recent writers is another, and not the least of our difficulties in this inquiry, for they differ so much among themselves, that it is not easy to decide which to follow; indeed, such is the folly of almost the whole, that it appears to be about nearly the best method to reject them altogether. Yet, on this obscure subject, I am not so

* In the discussion which follows, Buchanan is at issue with all the antiquaries, who ever wrote, or may write upon the subject of British Antiquities. He appeals to the only allowed authorities, the Greek and Roman writers; and the third Book consists entirely of the passages upon which he founds his argument. The aboriginal Gaels of Pinkerton, he had not heard of; the Cimbri, he knew as a Celtic tribe; the Gauls he knew were Celts, and Cæsar had told him the Belgæ were Gauls. The Irish, he knew were Gauls; and the Silures, who bore the same characteristic marks, Tacitus informed him, had come from Spain; his conclusions, in the then state of learning, were therefore legitimate; and if later discoveries have rendered them in any degree dubious, the fault lay not with Buchanan, whose ingenuity, learning, and research, were universally admitted and applauded, in a learned age, by men themselves learned, and who were fully able to appreciate both the worth and the labour of his performance.

much surprised at the silence of the ancients, or even the discordant fables of the more recent writers, as I am astonished at the impudent agreement of a few, who, respecting these times, when every thing was doubtful and uncertain, pronounce with such confident assurance, that they seem rather intent upon amusing the credulous, than upon adhering to fidelity in their narration.

In these early times, when the Britons, like many other nations, rarely applied themselves to agriculture, and all their riches consisted in flocks, there existed little or no individual property. Miserably poor, they easily changed their places of residence, either expelled by others more powerful than themselves, or themselves expelling those who were weaker, or seeking out richer pastures in the vast and uncultivated wildernesses. And the names of places were very easily changed with new lords. Much difficulty, too, has arisen from the ambition of the powerful, who, to perpetuate their remembrance to posterity, have given their own names to nations, provinces, and towns. In Spain, almost every city had two names, and their inhabitants the same; with the inhabitants, the names of cities, and countries were often changed, and, not to mention Egypt, Greece, and a long list beside, did not

Sæpius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus ?

The land of Saturn* often change her name ?

It has happened, too, that the same nation, residing in the same country, has not always received the same appellation. Thus, what the Romans called Hispania, the Greeks, Iberia, the Poets, Hesperia, is, by the Apostle Paul, in his epistles, and by Theodoret,† and Sozomenus,‡ in their histories, called Spania, Spain. The name of Greeks, so celebrated by the Latins, and all other European nations, is but an obscure

* Italy.

† Theodoret, one of the most learned fathers of the Christian church, was bishop of St. Cyricus in Syria, in the fourth century. He wrote an Ecclesiastical History, and several other works.

‡ Sozomenus, an ecclesiastical historian of the fifth century. He was a lawyer, and practised as a pleader, at Constantinople.

name among themselves.* The Hebrews and the Arabians, preserve the ancient names of almost all the nations, none of which were ever heard of, even by report, among any other people. Scots and English, the common names of the Britions at present, were perfectly unknown to the ancient Scots and Britons; for they called the one Albins, and the other Saxons. Wherefore, it need not appear wonderful, if, amid such changes in human affairs, there should not always be found a perfect agreement about the names of men and places, among writers born in different ages, in lands far distant from each other, and dissimilar, likewise, in their language and manners. But, while these things throw great obstacles in the way of our researches into the origin of nations, the distorted ambition of some modern writers, has involved all in the most impenetrable obscurity; for, while each endeavours to deduce the origin of his nation from a high antiquity, and foolishly strives to ennoble it by unfounded inventions, they only, by the wild license of their fables, darken what they attempt to explain. And if at any time they accidentally speak truth, their ridiculous falsehoods have destroyed their credibility, and all their assertions are treated with contempt.

iv. In the first place, as I shall begin with the most ancient nation, so likewise with the most impudent falsehood. The forgers of a new history of Britain, having interpolated the fable of the Danaïdes, pretend that a certain king of Syria, Dioclesian, had thirty-three daughters by his wife Labana, who having killed all their husbands on the night of their nuptials, and being put by their father into a ship without a helm, and without an oar, arrived at Britain, then a desert; and there alone, in this cold region, where the spontaneous fruit was but scanty, they not only lived, but from the embraces of evil demons, produced giants, the race of whom continued to exist, until the coming of Brutus. The island, they say, was called Albion, from Albin. Brutus, they allege, was the great grandson of Æneas the Trojan, and the son of Æneas Silvius. This Brutus having unwittingly killed his father by a random blow, truly an unhappy and lamentable

* The Greeks call themselves Helenes, not Grecæ.

accident, yet, being done without intention, he was not put to death, but sent or allowed to go into banishment. This paricide, after having consulted the oracle of Diana, wandered for twelve years, exposed to every variety of fortune, when he is said to have landed in Britain, accompanied by a great number of followers, and, having subdued the immense power of the giants in many battles, obtained at last the empire of the whole island. From him descended three sons, Locrinus, Albanactus, and Cambrus, who divided the country among them. From Albanactus, descended the Albanes, afterwards the Scots; from Cambrus the Cambrians, who now possess Wales. These held their kingdoms each in subordination to Locrinus, who possessed the supreme authority, and who, being chief of the rest of the Britons, gave the name Leogria, to his own portion of the island. Later writers add, in order to extend this fabulous empire, that Locrinus was succeeded by his daughter Vendolina, and Vendolina by Madanus, and Madanus by Menpricus, after whom came Ebrancus, who from twenty wives, begot as many sons. Of these, nineteen emigrated to Germany, and aided by the forces of their relation, Albius Silvius, conquered that country. From these brothers, Germany is alleged to have received its name.*

v. Such is the account the ancient Britons, and after them, some of the English historians give of the first inhabitants of Britain. It is impossible to help wondering what could be the intention of the inventors of this story, who, when they could so easily, and not invidiously, have imitated the Athenians, Arcadians, and other illustrious nations, and called themselves the original natives of the soil, nor needed they have thought an origin disgraceful, which the noblest, and wisest states of the world, esteemed their glory, and, especially, when that assertion could not have been refuted from ancient writers, and would have had no ignoble defenders, who, in a case like this, chose rather to assume as ancestors, the refuse of all beings, the very detail of whose story rendered it suppositious even to the illiterate, and for whose existence, they had not the shadow of a hint from the writers of antiquity. But seeing

* Germanus, a Latin word, signifying come of the same stock.

that did not please them, when they were free, as the Poet observed,

From any ancient parchment that they chose
To have claimed honest men as ancestors.

I confess I am astonished what could possibly have induced them to prefer, above all others, wretches, of whom their posterity must always be ashamed. What wondrous folly, is it to esteem nothing honourable, or illustrious, but what is connected with some amazing villany or crime! yet there are some men, who do impose such absurdities upon the ignorant. I pardon the ingenious Joannus Anniius,* for we must grant a liberty to poets when they endeavour to embellish, with fictitious ornaments, the origin, either of families, or of nations; but to those who profess to write true history, I do not think it proper to allow the same privilege.

VI. To return, however, to the story, what can be more unworthy of credit, than that a few girls, without the assistance of any man, should guide their vessel through the wide ocean, from Syria, to a desert island at the other extremity of the world; a voyage, which even at this day, would be formidable to experienced sailors, in a stout, well furnished vessel, notwithstanding our superior skill in navigation? That they should live there without either corn or fruit; and that ladies, the daughters of a king, should not only live in this cold climate, without food, but that they should bring forth giants, and lest they should not be provided with husbands worthy of their rank, that they should be embraced by devils! But Dioclesian, when did he exist? in what part of Syria did he reign? why does no writer mention him? especially, as the affairs of no nation are more minutely recorded than those of Syria. Whence did he receive the name of Dioclesian? a name which originated, a thousand years after him, among the Barbarians, and from the Greek came to be declined after the Latin form of speech.

* Joannus Anniius was a British poet of considerable reputation, he flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century.

VII. Then next comes a noble assassin, Brutus, a parricide, that he might not in this be inferior to Romulus. But this Brutus, whoever he was, whom the Britons claim as the author of their name and nation, with what forces—by means of what common language—did he, especially in such times, succeed, where the Roman arms in the most flourishing state of the republic, after all the rest of the world was subdued, could scarcely penetrate. It would be superfluous to mention how insignificant the states of Italy were before Rome was built, and how averse the natives were to long journies. Neither is it necessary to inquire whether he came by sea or land, for till that time, the Alps had been passed only by Hercules, and the innate ferocity of the Gauls rendered them opposed to all intercourse with strangers; and it was not till a late period, and when they were in the height of their prosperity, that the Carthaginians, or the Greek Marseillians, dared to venture into the ocean; and then, their voyages were undertaken not for conquest, but discovery. Nor is it credible, that the Alban shepherds, a semi-rustic kind of men, would undertake so bold an enterprise. Besides, nobody acquainted with Latin literature can be ignorant that the name of Brutus first began to be celebrated under Tarquin the last, surnamed the Proud, five hundred years after the fictitious Brutus, when Lucius Junius, a nobleman, in order to escape the cruelty of the king, disguised himself, and by a pretended folly, procured for himself the *new* surname of Brutus, which he transmitted to his posterity.

VIII. The Monk himself, however, the inventor, and propagator of this British fable, seems to have perceived the absurdity of his romance, but he thought he would be able to meet all objections by a species of religion, and wished to make it appear that the adventurers obeyed an oracle of Diana. I will not here scrutinize too minutely, why this oracle of Diana was kept a secret from posterity, when the Saturnian, and Sibyllean oracles, and the Prænestine lots were so celebrated? This only I will inquire, in what language did Diana give her answer? If I am told in Latin, I will then ask how Brutus could understand a language which was not in existence, till about nine hundred years after he was born?

For, when Horace, who was certainly a learned man, ingenuously confesses that he did not understand the Saliian verses, composed in the reign of Numa Pompilius, how could Brutus, who was dead so many years before the Salii were instituted, understand verses composed long after the age of Horace, as their structure and style bear evidence. Likewise, how could the posterity of Brutus, so completely forget the Latin tongue, that not the slightest vestige of it remains among them? and whence came the language they now use? For if a British language was then spoken in Italy, by both gods and men, certainly it is not that British which is now in use, for it is so compounded of the tongues of the neighbouring people, that a number of nations may, at first sight, recognize in it their own words. But if it be affirmed, that the ancient Latins spoke British, whence did this monk receive the ancient oracle, spoken two thousand years before? But why pursue these things so minutely, when it is apparent from so many other arguments, that the same monk fabricated a history, which never had a foundation; begat a Brutus, who never existed; and invented an oracle of Diana, that never was uttered. I shall produce the verses themselves, which sufficiently expose the ill constructed imposture.

BRUTUS CONSULIT.

Divā, potens nemorum, terror silvestribus apris,
 Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos,
 Infernasque domos : terrestria jura resolve,
 Et dic, quas terras nos habitare velis.
 Dic certam sedem, qua te veneremur in ævum,
 Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.

BRUTUS' ADDRESS TO THE ORACLE.

Goddess of groves, and of the chase,
 'Tis thine ethereal fields to trace,
 Or hell's domains. Oh let some spell,
 Our future habitations tell,
 Some stable seat of empire, where
 To latest ages may appear,
 The altars we shall duly raise,
 For virgin choirs to hymn thy praise.

Diana answers in the same kind of verse, evidently manufactured by the same poet, not in dark, ambiguous, or perplexed terms, but in plain, perspicuous language, such as she never would have employed, she promises him the empire of the whole earth.

DIANA RESPONDIT.

Brute, sub occasum solis trans Gallica regna,
 Insula in oceano est, undique clausa mari.
 Insula in oceano est, habitata gigantibus olim,
 Nunc deserta quidem, gentibus apta tuis.
 Hanc pete, namque tibi sedes erat illa perennis,
 Hæc fiet natis altera Troja tuis ;
 Hic de prole tua reges nascentur, et ipsis
 Totius terræ subditus orbis erit.

THE ORACLE'S REPLY.

Where the sun sinks beneath the main,
 Beyond the bounds of Gallia's reign,
 An island stands—on every side
 Girt by the ocean's swelling tide,
 Where giants dwelt in olden time,
 But now it is a desert clime.
 Brutus ! that country is thine own,
 Seek it—establish there a throne,
 Where thy late offspring shall enjoy
 Another home—a second Troy.
 Thence far extend their royal sway,
 And bid a prostrate world obey.

From these verses compared with the history, I think, the rest of the forgery may easily be discovered, and that palpably, for besides the folly of the promises on both sides, the verses say that the island was not at that time inhabited, but that it had formerly been inhabited, and had then become a desert. Now where were the portentous Gogmagog, and Tintagol, and the other more monstrous names, conjured up, shall I say, for terror, or derision? and where the redoubtable combats of Corinæus, and the other associates of Brutus, not with earth-begotten, but devil-begotten giants?

ix. So much for the account these authors give us of Brutus and his oracle; yet, notwithstanding these enormous falsehoods, their posterity neither repent, nor are ashamed of

them, for only a few years ago, a writer of no mean name among them, impudently pretended that the Trojans spoke British! The shameless effrontery of which assertion, Homer and Dionysius Halicarnassus, directly refute, the first of whom gives Greek names to all the Trojans, and the other, in a long and serious disputation, contends that the Trojans were originally descended from the Greeks. But I have done. I pass by that puzzle, how Brutus, who came to Britain with no great train, could establish three kingdoms in less than twenty years; and how they, the whole of whom, on their first arrival, would scarcely have filled one small colony, could in so brief a period, overspread the largest island in the world, not only with villages, or cities, but with three powerful, and extensive kingdoms; and who, in a short time after became so numerous, that Britain, it seems, could not contain them, for passing over to the extensive plains of Germany, they took possession of them, and having conquered the inhabitants, forced them to assume a new name, not in the British, but Latin language, and thus, from these nineteen Brothers, who were not Germani, [that is *full* brothers,]—for they had each different mothers,—be called Germans. This fiction, so absurd in every part, I have not stopped to confute, but leave it to the Germans, for their amusement.

x. Having thus in general noticed the fables of the Britons, I must observe that their object is but very flimsily concealed. The monstrous fable of demons embracing virgins, seems to me, intended to show that their Brutus was either allied with the two greatest neighbouring nations by blood, or, that he could vie with them in the nobility of his descent;—for both the Gauls and Germans, according to Cæsar and Tacitus, deduced their origin from the devil. A similar reason appears to have given rise to the fiction about Brutus, for when the Buthrotii in Epirus, several people in Sicily, the Romans, Campanians, and Sulmonese in Italy, the Arverni, Aedui, Sequani, and lastly, the Franks in Gaul, celebrated, I know not what Trojans as their founders, the British historians thought it would confer more distinguished nobility on their nation, if they could discover its origin in the recesses of antiquity, and especially among the

Trojans; either on account of the renown of a city celebrated in the literature of the whole world, or on account of its alliance with so many nations, said to have arisen, as it were, from its shipwreck. Nor did they think that a very arrogant lie, if, when they communicated nobility to so many nations, they took a share of the honour to themselves. Hence, arose, I imagine, the romance of Brutus, and others still older, not less foolishly believed, than impudently contrived. It may perhaps be sufficient in order to prove the falsehood of all these stories, to mention, that they were quite unknown to ancient writers, and durst not be published while literature flourished, but were the productions of ignorant, unlearned men, during the dark ages, when letters were almost extinct, and were received by the stupid and the credulous, who were not capable of detecting the fraud. It is a common custom with impostors, who are less anxious about the advantages to be derived by the public from a true history, than about the emolument they themselves may reap from adulation, that when they appear most vehemently to praise, they most certainly expose to ridicule; and it is the same with those, who, in order to exalt the nobility of their origin, and render it more splendidly illustrious, deduce it from the vilest dregs of mankind—a nobility, of which, however the weak and the credulous may admire the splendour, none of their neighbours will feel disposed to envy them the possession.

XI. The writers of Scottish history have given to their countrymen, what appeared to them a more creditable origin, but not less fabulous than the nobility of the Britons, for they have adopted ancestors, not indeed from Trojan refugees, but from the Grecian heroes who overturned Troy. In the early ages, two nations of the Greeks, they tell us, were particularly celebrated—the Dorians, and the Ionians. The chief of the Dorians, were the Argives, and of the Ionians, the Athenians. The Scots make a chief named Gathelus, the founder of their nation, but whether they chose a son of Argus, or Cecrops, they have left uncertain. That they may not, however, yield the precedence in that particular point of honour to the Romans, they have given him a stout band of robbers, with whom having marched into Egypt, he is said to have performed

many illustrious actions, and to have been made commander-in-chief of the forces, after the departure of Moses. Then with his wife Scota, the daughter of the king of Egypt, having circumnavigated all the coast of Europe, bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, and travelled over many countries, in that age desert, or but thinly, and in very few places inhabited, such as were Greece, Italy, Gaul, the whole coast of Africa, not to mention the islands in the Mediterranean Sea, some authors set him down at the mouth of the river Iberus. Leaving that country, however, where he could not subsist, they hand him over to Galicia, a land still more barren. Others—he being the first mortal I suppose, who ever dared venture with a fleet into the ocean—have landed him at the mouth of the river Douro, and in that celebrated place, they make him build a town, now called, after his name, Portus Gatheli, whence the whole country, which, from Lusitania, and Lusitania, the children of Bacchus, had for a long time been called Lusitania, began to be styled Portugal. Forced, however, at length, thence to fly to Galicia, he founded there Brigantium, now Compostella. Bracara, at the mouth of the river Munda, was also built by him.

XII. These are the fabulous accounts the Scots have given of the origin of their nation, in contriving which, their carelessness is sufficiently apparent, from their not having given even a Greek name, to their Grecian Gathelus, a being never heard of among the Greek writers; from their giving a Latin, rather than a Greek name to the port which he built, in an age when scarcely one of the Greeks knew of the existence of such a place as Latium itself; and from their doubting whether he were the son of Argus, or Cecrops, when Argus flourished almost a hundred years before Cecrops. Then it is somewhat marvellous, that he who, among the wisest of men, excelled so much in prudence, as to hold the place next to the king, in the room of Moses, after his flight, and though a stranger, to be honoured with royal nuptials; that he, leaving the most fertile country in the whole world, passing on his right hand, and his left, the lands of both continents, numerous islands fruitful in corn, and many of them delightful in temperature, Crete, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, all in that age, rather possessed than cultivated by their rude inhabitants,

should launch into the ocean, terrible, even in name, to men unacquainted with navigation, on purpose to build the city of Portugal, or Portum Getheli, on the Douro, of which city, the name was never discovered, till after the conquest of Lusitania by the Saracens; and that he should build Bracara at the mouth of the river Munda, though a large tract of country, and two celebrated rivers, the Douro and the Vaca, intervene between Bracara and Munda, and Bracara itself be not a maritime town. But besides all this, it may be asked how did it happen that Gathelus, a Greek, born in a celebrated country, illustrious for deeds of arms, when he left that country fired with the ambition of handing down his name to posterity, and arrived with a large retinue at the extreme ends of the earth, where all was barbarous and uncivilized, and when he founded cities, how did it happen that he not only did not give them his own, but not even a Greek appellation; for Portugal, or, as they prefer it, Portus Gatheli, was unknown to all ancient writers, who professedly treat of the names of cities, and countries, nor did it begin to be celebrated, till within these last four hundred years. Nor is the coming of this Gathelus into Spain, less suspicious from the silence of all the Greek and Latin writers, especially when the voyages of the Phœnicians, Iberians, and Gauls, and the travels of Hercules and Bacchus, into Spain, are made frequent and illustrious mention of by the ancients. But I apprehend our fabulists did not read the ancients, otherwise, when they thought fit to bring the founder of their nation, and the author of their nobility, from Greece, it never could have happened that they would have pitched upon an unknown personage, in preference to Hercules, or Bacchus, who are famous in the records of every country.

XIII. I have now gone over all that our writers have delivered to us respecting the origin of the nation; and if I have given more attention to these trifles, than they seem to require, I can only allege, in my justification, the pertinacity of those who combat for them, as for a Palladium * sent down from

* Palladium, an image of Pallas, which descended from heaven, and was kept by the Trojans, as that upon the preservation of which, the safety of their city depended

heaven; and if their obstinacy be adverted to, my apology must be sustained. Respecting those other nations, who arrived later, and fixed their abode in these islands, the Picts, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, as their histories contain nothing absurd, I shall speak of them afterwards. But these two nations of whom I have been speaking, appear to me to have sprung from the Gauls, * and I shall explain why I think so, after I have shortly adverted to the ancient institutions of that people. All Gaul, though fertile in corn, is well known to have been, and is, still more fruitful in men, so much so, that, according to Strabo, the men capable of bearing arms among the Celts alone, who possessed but the third part of Gaul, amounted to three hundred thousand. Therefore, when the land, however fertile, came to be incapable of supporting the population, and the country groaned under a crowd of youth, colonies were frequently sent, sometimes by public decrees, and sometimes by private compact into all the neighbouring regions, on purpose to thin the multitudes at home. To begin with Spain,—they were so frequently sent thither, that Ephorus, † according to Strabo, extended Gaul in length as far as Cadiz; and indeed the whole north side of Spain, both by the names of the people and the places, long bore witness to their Gallic original. The first we meet with, are the Celtiberi, mentioned by Lucan, Book iv.

—————profugique a gente vetusta.
Gallorum, Celtæ, miscentes nomen Iberis.

—————forth from the ancient nation of the Gauls,
The Celts their names with the Iberians mix.

* Buchanan understands Gaul, in the extent that the ancients did, that is, as comprehending France, Flanders, Holland, Switzerland, and part of Germany, and, following the same authority, he considers all the inhabitants of these countries, as GAULS, whether they were Celts or Belgians; and their language he derived from one common origin, as being only different dialects of the same tongue. In doing so, he follows the positive testimony of the ancient writers.

† Ephorus, an historian of Cumæ, in Æolia, 352 B. C. He wrote a history of all the transactions between the Greeks and Barbarians for 750 years,—greatly esteemed by the ancients, now lost.

These had so widely extended their boundaries, that though they inhabited a rugged country, and not otherwise fertile, yet M. Marcellus exacted from them six hundred talents, in name of tribute. From the Celts, * or Celtiberians, likewise, the Celtici, surnamed Boetici by Ptolemy, upon the banks of the river Ana sprung; as also another Celtici in Lusitania, near Ana; and if we may credit Pomponius Mela, a Spaniard, from the mouth of the Douro, as far as that promontory which is called Celticum, or Nerium, † the country is inhabited by Celts, who are distinguished by different surnames, Grovii, Præsamarci, Tamarici, Nerii; and besides, the rest of the Galicians had their origin from the Gauls, as the similarity of the name indicates. On the other side, there went from Gaul into Italy, the Ligurians, the Libii, Salasii, the Insubres, the Cenomani, the Boii, the Cenones, and, if we may believe some ancient writers, the Venetii. What extensive dominion these nations obtained in Italy, it is unnecessary to dwell upon, as nobody in the least versed in history, can be ignorant of the fact. Neither shall I inquire too minutely into what bands of Gauls settled in Thrace, or thence passed into Macedonia and Greece, and afterwards into Bithynia, and founded the kingdom of the Gallo-Grecians in Asia, these inquiries not being very intimately connected with my present design.

* The aborigines of Europe were known by the general name of Celts, as the aborigines of America are known by the general name of Indians. The Greek writers applied the name of Celts to all the western nations indiscriminately, and the great difficulty now, is to ascertain to whom of all the ancient tribes, who have only left behind them the vestiges of their names, and but very slight traces of their languages, the term Celts, ought of right, to belong; for all writers on British antiquities, however different their conclusions, concur in the opinion that the Celts were the *first* inhabitants of our western quarter of the globe, and of Britain. Buchanan's theory has been very liberally abused by Pinkerton, but in fact, Pinkerton's own theory is not essentially different, and Chalmers coincides in the most material points. It is necessary to observe, however, that Buchanan keeps closely to the plain, simple meaning of the ancient authorities that he quotes, while the other authors, controvert, twist, and turn them, as suits their own fancies.

† Cape Finisterre.

xiv. I hasten to Germany, and concerning the Gallic colonies there, we have the most ample authorities—C. Julius Cæsar, and C. Cornelius Tacitus. The former, in his Commentaries of the Gallic War, informs us that the Gauls were in former times, esteemed braver than the Germans, and that, therefore, the Tectosages got possession of the most fertile part of Germany, about the Hercynian forest; and the Bohemians, as the other affirmeth, by their very name tell us, that their ancestors were the Boii; and nearer their own country, the Helvetii sometime dwelt, between the rivers Maine and the Rhine. Beyond the Rhine, the Decumati were of Gallic original, and the Gothini * upon the Danube, whom Claudian calls Gothuni, Arrian, † in his life of Alexander, Getini, Flavius Vopiscus, ‡ in the life of Probus, Gautunni. But Claudius reckons the Gothuni among the Getæ, and Stephanus thinks that those were Getæ, who are called by Arrian, Getini; unless perhaps the Getæ were no other people than the Gauls themselves, seeing it is certain that many Gallic nations went into Thrace, and even settled in the same

* Gothini—the Goths of the moderns, the Getæ, or Getes of the ancients, the same people, Mr. Pinkerton thinks, as the Scythians. In his Dissertation, he traces their progress from Modern Persia, upward, over the river Araxes in Armenia, and the mountains of Caucasus, into little, or ancient Scythia, on the Euxine. Thence they spread, he supposes, into Thrace, Greece, Illyricum, Dacia, Germany, and Scandinavia. From Scandinavia, they proceeded to Scotland, Jutland, and the Danish isles. From Germany, to Gaul, and Spain, and Italy. This inverts the order of Buchanan, who affirms the colonies went from Gaul to Germany, Spain, and Italy, and he does so upon the authority of Cæsar, and the other ancient writers, whom he quotes, who wrote before the languages of Europe had been changed by the new swarms from the north, that overturned the Roman empire, and settled in the half-depopulated provinces, and who derived their information immediately from the Gauls, and their colonies. But both statements establish the same material point—the identity of the Gauls, with numerous tribes scattered over extensive, and distant countries, and Tacitus affirms that the Gothuni spoke the language of the Gauls, a most important fact in favour of Buchanan's argument, of which it will not be easy to elude the force.

† Arrian, a historian who flourished under the emperor Hadrian, and the Antonines, born at Nicomedia, in Bithynia.

‡ Vopiscus lived under Dioclesian, his life of Probus is in Hist. August. Script.

place, which the *Getæ* are said to have inhabited. Besides, the *Gothini*, Tacitus says, used the Gallic language in his day. The *Cimbri*, too, according to Philemon, and the *Æstioni*,—if Tacitus is to be credited,—who dwelt on the shores of the Swedish Sea, where they gather amber, spoke the British tongue, which language was the same with the Gallic, or not widely different from it. There are many other vestiges of Gallic colonies throughout Germany, which I shall not painfully pursue, those which I have already mentioned, being perfectly sufficient for my object, which was to show how extensively the colonies of Gauls had spread themselves around Britain. What then shall I say of Britain, which neither equalled these nations in magnitude, in strength, nor in knowledge of military affairs; which was so near to the bravest of the Gauls, and not inferior to the neighbouring countries, either in the mildness of the climate, or the richness of the soil—did she receive no foreign colonies? Both *Cæsar* and Tacitus affirm she received many, but I contend the whole of her ancient inhabitants were of that description.

Three ancient nations, as is sufficiently evident, possessed the whole island—the Britons, the Picts, and the Scots, of whom I shall now speak.

xv. I shall commence with the Britons, whose dominion was the most extensive in Albion. The first, as far as I know, who gave any certain information about them, is *Cæsar*. He thinks the inhabitants in the interior were indigenous, because, I believe, that notwithstanding his most diligent inquiry, he could find no accounts of their first arrival, nor any written memorial, from which any thing could be learned. The sea coast of the island, he says, was inhabited by the *Belgæ*,* whom the hope of plunder had allured, and the fertility of the soil, and the mildness of the climate, detained. In proof of this, he mentions that the greater part of them retained the names of the states whence

* The *Belgæ*, who, Pinkerton insists were Germans—Chalmers affirms, after *Cæsar* and Buchanan, to have been Gauls or Celts; and he derives the name itself from a Celtic origin—*Bel*, tumult; *Bela*, to mangle; *Belg*, an overwhelming; *Belgiad*, one that overwhelms or over-runs—a ravager, a Belgian; *Belgws*, the Ravagers—the *Belgæ*.

they had come, and their buildings were similar to those of the Gauls. Tacitus, an author of great credit adds, that their manners were not very different; equally audacious in provoking danger, and equally cowardly in running from it; both divided into bitter factions, and great clanships. In short, Britain in his time, was exactly what Gaul had been before the invasion of the Romans. Besides, Pomponius Mela adds, that in war, the Britons fought on horseback, in two-horse cars, and chariots, and in Gallic armour. Bede, likewise, who is of greater authority, as well as higher antiquity, than all the fabulous authors put together, affirms that the first inhabitants of the island came from Armorica, from which some Greek grammarians do not differ far, who say that the Britons received their name from Britannus, the son of Celtus; at least in this they agree, that the Britons had descended from the Gauls. Among later writers, Robertus Cœnalis, * and Pomponius Lætus, no despicable author, in his life of Dioclesian, subscribe to the same opinion, forced, as I think, by the power of truth. They seem, however, to me, to err in bringing them from the peninsula of the Brittons, on the Loire, now called Brittany, when the maritime colonies of the Britons, by their names, themselves, as Cæsar affirms, bear witness whence they had emigrated.

XVI. The colonies which the Gauls sent to Ireland, follow next. I have already shown that the whole north coast of Spain was occupied by Gallic colonies; there appears, to me, to have been many concurring circumstances which produced their emigration thence to Ireland; either the facility of the passage, might have drawn them to that island, or they may have been expelled from their homes by the insupportable tyranny of the Persians, Phœnicians, and Grecians, to which, after the Spaniards were overcome, they would be exposed, on account of their weakness. Likewise from among the Spaniards themselves, composed, as they were, of so many discordant nations, emigrations would frequently

* Robertus Cœnalis, bishop of Arbois, wrote a history of France about the middle of the fifteenth century.

take place, consisting of such as were desirous of preserving their liberty, or avoiding slavery, during the civil commotions, or revolutionary confusions of a warlike people. Whoever weighs these causes of migration, will not, I think, wonder if many preferred a subsistence abroad, however, scanty, but sweetened by liberty, to domestic, and sometimes bitter slavery. Then the state of Spain, becoming daily more turbulent, the miseries inflicted upon the vanquished by the conquerors, alternately Carthaginian and Roman, induced those who had already arrived in Ireland to remain, and compelled numbers besides, to fly thither, especially as the Spaniards had no other neighbouring country, to which, in prosperous circumstances, they could send their superfluous population, or whither, in adversity, they could fly for refuge. The benignity of the climate, too, was another inducement, for, Cæsar tells us, the temperature of Britain was milder than that of Gaul; but in richness of soil, and equal temperature of sky, Ireland far surpasses Britain; besides, men born in a rugged country, and brought up in idleness, as all the Spaniards were, would easily allow themselves to be carried away from domestic broils, to repose in external peace, amid the richest pastures in Europe.

XVII. At the same time, I do not think the opinion of any nation, respecting their ancestors, is to be rejected, if it rest upon likely conjectures, and is confirmed by ancient tradition. Now, Cornelius Tacitus affirms, upon what appeared to him a sure conjecture, that the west coast of Britain or Albium, was inhabited by the descendants of Spaniards, but it is not so likely the Spaniards would have left behind them, unoccupied, Ireland, a land nearer to them, of a more fertile soil, and milder sky, to have first settled in Albium, as that they should first have landed in Ireland, and thence have sent colonies to Britain. That the Scots had touched there, all their annals affirm, and Bede, in his first book, also bears witness; and even all the inhabitants of Ireland, were called Scots at first, as Orosius informs us. Nor do our annals refer only to one migration of the Scots, from Ireland into Albion. Two stand upon record. The first, under Fergusius, the son of Ferchard. The next, when, after a long residence, having

been forced to Ireland, they returned again to Britain under Reutharus, as their leader. And even after that, in the reign of Fergus the second, a great body of Irish Scots came hither as auxiliaries, who obtained a settlement in Galloway; and Claudian mentions, that in his age, assistance was received thence against the Romans; he says,

—————totam cum Scotus Iernam
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.

When the Scot moved all Ireland, and the flood
Rolling between foamed with the hostile oar.

And in another place,

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

And icy Ireland weeps o'er piles of Scots.

In the beginning, when both the inhabitants of Ireland, and their colonies which were sent to Albium, were called Scots, in order to distinguish the one from the other, at first the one was called the Irish Scot, the other the Albin Scot, but by degrees, both the surnames, usurping the place of the proper names, effaced them, so that the ancient name of the Scots, is almost consigned to oblivion, not being used in speech, and found only in the pages of the annalist.

XVIII. With regard to the appellation of the Picts, I do not think it was either a patronymic, or a very ancient name, but was applied to them by the Romans, from their bodies being ornamented with fanciful incisions, * which supposition, the following verses of Claudian confirms.

Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos,
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

He the fleet Moor subdued; and painted Pict
Not falsely named. With a strange sword the Scot
He followed; and the Hyperborean wave
Smote with his daring oars.

* Similar to the tatooing in the South Sea islands.

Likewise elsewhere,

Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas,
Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras.

The legion came which guards the utmost bounds
Of Britain, and curbs in the savage Scot,
They, on the bodies of the dying Picts,
Saw the rude figures, iron-graved.

Herodian, too, speaking of the same nation, but omitting the name, clearly describes the manner of painting their bodies, only he does not mention that it is done by iron; they use no garments, he says, only they wear iron ornaments round the belly and neck, and as a proof of their riches, in the same manner that other barbarians do gold. Further, they mark their bodies with every variety of animals, pictured in every shape, and therefore they wear no clothing, lest the pictures on their bodies should be covered. The name* by which they

* The NAME and ORIGIN of the Picts have given rise to much and angry disputation, as controversialists are generally most furious when the object of contention is least worth. Chalmers derives the NAME from a British root, the Provincials who spoke the same language, he says, called the open country Peithue, and the inhabitants, Peithi; and as the *th* British, was represented in Latin by *ct*, of course, the name when Latinized, was *Picti*. Pinkerton, on the other hand, derives the appellation from the Scandinavian Pehts, variously pronounced Pihts and Peuths, softened to Roman pronunciation, Picti. The ORIGIN of the Picts, and, indeed, their whole history is so obscure, that it would be perhaps the safest method for their historians to adopt the modest language Buchanan uses with regard to their name, *in re tam vetusta difficile dictu est*: those, however, who have lately investigated the subject, think otherwise; and although their conclusions are diametrically opposite, yet each is absolutely certain that he is incontrovertibly right! First, Mr. Pinkerton, gives the following "HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF THE PICTS. Tacitus, the first writer who mentions the people of Caledonia, or Piks, expresses his opinion that they were of German origin. Bede tells us they came from Scythia, a name which Jornandes, about A. D. 530, had given to Scandinavia; and which continued to be applied to that country, till the eleventh century, when the special denominations of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, became known to all Europe. All the other ancient writers who mention the origin of the Piks, derive them from Scandinavia, so that no doubt can remain, save with such superficial writers, as speak of opinions, when they should speak of facts,

designated themselves, is a thing of so old a date that it is now difficult to speak decisively upon the subject. Indeed, the neighbouring nations did not quite agree on the name they gave them, for the Britons called them Pichtiades, the English Pichtes, and the ancient Scots, Peachtes. But the names of several places, which were formerly under the dominion of the Picts, and are now in the possession of the Scots, seem to exhibit an appellation different from the whole, for the Pentland hills, and Pentland Frith, appear to be derived from Penthus, not from Pictus. These names, however, I am inclined to believe, have been imposed in later times, either by the English, or by certain Scots who used the English tongue, for by the ancient Scots, they were neither employed, nor understood.

XIX. As to the name of the Picts, then, however, the thing may stand, whether the Romans translated a barbarous name

and prefer their own weak conceits, to that positive evidence, upon which alone, all ancient history stands. Indeed, to judge from reason only, it might readily be inferred, that the Piks, a people, as all the ancients show, quite different from the old Scots, or Irish, and from the old Britons, or Welsh, as possessing North Britain, could only originate from a country, near to North Britain, as Norway is, and when reason and ancient authorities thus coalesce, they constitute that highest degree of historical truth, which even approaches to mathematical demonstration. In Scandinavia, therefore, that large peninsular tract, including Norway, Sweden, and a part of Denmark, we are to look for the Piks; and while we find a people of the same name, in the south of Norway, the part next to Scotland, the evidence becomes as complete as human history can afford." Enquiry, vol. i. pp. 187-8. Mr. Chalmers thus sums up his evidence. "That the Picts were Caledonians, we thus have seen in the mention of classic authors during three centuries; that the Caledonians were the North Britons, who fought Agricola at the foot of the Grampians, we know from the nature of the events, and from the attestation of Tacitus; that the North Britons of the first century, were the descendants of the Celtic aborigines, who were the same people as the southern Britons, during the earliest times, has been proved to a moral certainty." If in the outset, where the original writers are the *same*, such different statements can be given, with such authoritative dictation, may we not hesitate before we submit to the infallible demonstrations, which we afterwards meet with in these authors, founded upon documents, neither so plain, nor so free from dubiety, as even the remains of Eumeneus, or Ammianus Marcellinus? When we sail upon a doubtful coast, we should be particularly careful of our charts and our soundings

into the Latin word nearest it in sound or signification, or whether the barbarians adopted the sound and declension of a Latin word similar to some one of their own, is a matter of very little importance. There is the name—and since all historians are agreed that those who bore it, came from the east into Britain, either from Scythia or Germany, it remains then that we follow their footsteps with our conjectures, and endeavour if possible to arrive at the truth. Nor do I see any more certain commencement of our investigation, than from the painting * of their bodies. Now the Britons, the Aarii in Germany, and the Agathyrsi, painted their bodies, but it was to render their appearance more terrible in battle, that they stained themselves with the juices of herbs. As the Picts, however, marked their skins with iron, and delineated the figures of different animals upon them, it will be, therefore, proper to inquire what nations either in Scythia, Germany, or the neighbouring countries, were accustomed to paint their bodies not to inspire terror, but for the purpose of ornament. The Geloni in Thrace, Virgil tells us, were thus accustomed to adorn themselves; and Claudian speaking of them in his first book against Rousinus, says,

Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse, Gelonus.

———and the Geloni, who delight
Their hardy limbs with iron to imprint.

The same Poet mentions the Getæ in Thrace, as ornamenting their bodies in a similar manner:

* The argument drawn from the painting of their skins, is at best but presumptive, yet, when joined to other customs and manners, forms a link in the chain of corroborative evidence, which it would have been improper to omit. The practice of tatooing among the natives of the South Sea islands, forms a striking peculiarity in their savage manners, and would, alone, distinguish them as different from the savages of North America, although it does not determine their common origin with any other savages who similarly puncture their bodies. The painting of the Picts, certainly distinguishes them from the Germans, but does not, therefore, alone identify them with the Celts, who in different parts of Europe adorned their skins in the same manner, yet it adds strong probability to the other arguments.

*Crinigeri sedere patres, pellita Getarum
Curia, quos plagis decorat numerosa cicatrix.*

The nobles of the long-haired Getæ sat
In council, skin-clad, and their bodies bore
The seamy ornament of many a scar.

Since then the Geloni, according to Virgil, were neighbours to the Getæ, and either the Gothuni or Getini, according to Arrian, are numbered among the Getæ, where is the difficulty in supposing, that the Picts had originally sprung from among them, especially as Tacitus tells us, the Gothuni spoke Gallic. But from whatever nation of Germany they may have come, it appears to me most probable, it was from the ancient colonies of the Gauls, who had settled either upon the borders of the Swedish sea, or the banks of the Danube; for as the Germans esteemed every person of Gallic origin an alien, I think they had given them their name in contempt, in the same way as they express by one word, *WALSCH*, a Gaul, a stranger, and a barbarian. And, therefore, whether thrust out by their neighbours, or driven thither by the force of a tempest, the ancestors of the Picts, I suppose, easily obtained the friendship, and it is said, the assistance of the Scots, as men allied by blood, of almost the same language, and not very dissimilar religion, and imperceptibly by intermarriages, quickly coalesced so as to form almost one nation; for otherwise I do not see how the Scots, who then inhabited Ireland, a rough and uncultivated race, should so easily associate with needy strangers, whom they had never seen before, and enter into the closest affinity with men differing in language, religion, and laws, and in a state of such destitution.

xx. Here the authority of Bede, an Anglo-Saxon, seems to present an objection, he alone, as far as I know, says, that the Picts used a different language from the Scots. For he says, speaking of Britain, there a knowledge of the highest truth and truest sublime was searched out, and professed at the same time in the five languages, of the English, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins. Bede, however, I imagine, mentions five dialects of the same language as five different languages, a form of speech which we know the Greeks sometimes use in

similar cases, and which is likewise used by Cæsar in the exordium of his Commentaries of the Gallic war; for he says, the three parts of Gaul use different languages, and different customs; but Strabo, although he allows that the Acquitani are distinct from the others in their language, yet the rest of the Gauls used the same language only with a little variation. Nor do the Scots, in my opinion, differ in their whole language from the Britons, but rather in their dialect, as I shall afterwards show; for even now, in their speech, they agree so far as plainly to evince that both must have formerly been the same; not differing so much among themselves, as several of the French provinces, who, nevertheless, are all said to speak French. And, besides, other authors do not give the least hint of any difference in the language, and they themselves, as long as the two kingdoms stood, contracted marriages with each other, in the same manner as if they had been but one nation. And as they mixed together at first, so afterwards they lived as neighbours, and often as friends, till the final extinction of the Picts. Nor did the remainder of them, and they must have been numerous, even after their military race was extinct, ever in the smallest degree corrupt the Scottish language, nor in the seats they had left did there remain any vestige of a foreign tongue; for all the Pictish regions, and even particular places, retain to this day Scottish appellations, except a very few, which, where the Saxon prevailed over the native tongue, received names of German origin. Nor should it be omitted that before the coming of the Saxons into Britain, we read of no interpreters having been employed by the British nations in their intercourse with each other. Therefore, when Scots, English, and German writers, with one consent, deduce the origin of the Picts from Germany, and when it appears that the Gothuni, or Getini, were colonies of the Gauls, and spoke Gallic, and that the Æstii, on the coasts of the Swedish sea spoke British, whence can we think the Picts can have sprung? Or whither, on being expelled from their native dwellings, would they go, if not to their relations? Or where could they better have sought connubial intercourse than with a people allied to themselves by blood, language, and manners?

XXI. But if any one be disposed to deny that the Picts have sprung from the Gothuni, or Æstii, or Getæ, on account of the distance of these countries, let him only recollect how many, and what great emigrations took place everywhere, in those times in which it is alleged the Picts came to Britain, and for many ages after, and he will perceive not only how, but how easily it could be done. The Gauls occupied with their colonies a great part of Spain, Italy, Germany, and Britain; they sent forth their population to the Meotian lake, and the Cimmerian Bosphorus; and, after devastating Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, settled in Asia. The Cimbri, Ambrones and Teutones, after wasting Gaul, penetrated into Italy. The Geloni, whom Virgil placed in Thrace, are by almost all other writers, described as residing in Scythia, in the vicinity of the Agathyrsi. The Goths, long an obscure nation, suddenly burst forth as a flood, and in a short time inundated Europe, Asia, and Africa. When, therefore, during many successive ages, the stronger laid claim to the possessions of their neighbours, and the weaker, exposed to the injuries of the more powerful, left a country they were unable to retain, it ought not to appear very wonderful if the latter, after having long struggled with fortune, and been tossed about in various wanderings without any certain habitation, should at last settle together in some distant land.

XXII. There are, besides, two ancient nations, the Mæatæ,* and Attacotti,† placed by the Roman writers, within the limits

* The Mæatæ are supposed to be the people who dwelt between the walls of Hadrian and of Antonine, the Celtic etymologists deriving the name from a word signifying "Midlanders," Pink. Enq. vi. 366. Severus died at York, 211, and his son Caracalla, made, according to Dion, a disgraceful peace with the Caledonians and Mæatæ; "from that time forward," says Innes, "it appears the Caledonians possessed themselves of a part of the lands of the Mæatæ, or rather united to the Mæatæ, shared in their possessions to the south of the Friths, till Theodosius reduced that country into a province, about 370." The author of Caledonia, places the Mæatæ immediately *beyond* the wall of Antonine, and gives the derivation of their name, from Meiadi, Brit. the people who take the field, or soldiers; he agrees with Buchanan in supposing them Picts or Caledonians.

† The Attacotti are only mentioned by the ancient writers, whom Buchanan quotes, and by St. Jerome, who characterizes them as delighting in the taste

assigned to the kingdoms of the Scots and Picts. Of these the Mæataë, whom Dion alone, so far as I know, mentions, must I think, have been Picts; for he places them in the lands next to the Caledonians, which lands it is certain the Picts inhabited. The Attacotti, according to Marcellinus, appear to have been those who were for some time excluded by the wall of Adrian, but upon the extension of the Roman empire, by the wall of Severus, were included within the province, as in the Book “De Castrensibus Officiis Romanorum Per Provincias,” on

of human flesh. “When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said they attacked the shepherd, rather than his flock; and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts, both of males and females, for their horrid repast,” Jerom. tom. II. quoted by Gibbon. In the following observations, Mr. G. appears to favour the supposition of Buchanan, that the Attacotti were within the limits of the Roman province. “If,” says he, “in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate in the period of the Scottish history, the opposite extremes of savage and civilized life,” Hist. of the Decline, &c. vol. iv. The character given by the Saint, whose veracity, Gibbon says, “I see no reason to question,” must of necessity have belonged only to some scattered savages, it never characterized the whole Scots, and corroborates the assumption that they, the Attacotti, were a distinct tribe. A modern writer, however, Richard of Cirencester, whose work has appeared since the days of Buchanan, differs in his statement, as to the boundaries, from our author. Of this work, Mr. Pinkerton gives the following account. “Mr. Bertram, an Englishman, residing in Denmark, found this work there about thirty years ago in a MS. which, from a specimen sent, Mr. Casley, a good judge, pronounced 400 years old, and it was published at Copenhagen, in 1758. The author had, it seems, travelled to Italy, and had there perused Cæsar, Strabo, Ptolemy, Tacitus, and other authentic writers. He also builds on certain papers of a Roman Dux, by which, if I mistake not, we must understand a governor of Britain, and not a general. Though this work is surprising for the age, yet its authenticity has not been questioned, and appears unquestionable. Nevertheless, as being so late a work, it must be used with much caution.” Enq. vol. i. p. 11. Whitaker supposes it a work of the second century, Hist. of Manchester, vol. i. p. 88; but as it contains the names of places, which had no existence till the fourth, he is evidently mistaken. Chalmers in his Caledonia, vol. i. p. 126, follows this erroneous date. According to Richard, the Attacotti inhabited from Lochfine to Lochlomond, comprehending the whole of Cowal in Argyleshire, and the greater part of Dunbartonshire; the name is supposed to be Eithacoethi, Brit. men dwelling at the extremity of the wood; it has also been said to mean *hither* Scots, that is the Scots of North Britain, in contradistinction from the Scots of Ireland. Pink. Enq. vol. i. p. 40.

the Camp services through the Roman provinces, among the foreign auxiliaries, I find some cohorts of the Attacotti, as well as the Britons. I am, therefore, at a loss whether to admire more the effrontery or the stupidity of Lloyd—his effrontery, in affirming the Attacotti to have been Scots, not only without any authority, but without the smallest shadow of a probable conjecture; or his stupidity, in not perceiving, in the very passage he quotes from Marcellinus, that the Scots are distinguished from the Attacotti; for Marcellinus says, “that the Picts and Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti, harassed the Britons with constant miseries.” With equal stupidity, he contends that the Caledonians were a British nation, when it is incontrovertibly plain that they were Picts; and this he demonstrates most perspicuously, by the testimony of a panegyric addressed to Constantine, which he brings forward himself. The author of that oration says, “the woods of the Caledonians and other Picts;” yet, such is Lloyd’s dulness, that when he produced this passage, he did not perceive that it militated against his argument. Now the name, if we examine it, is Scottish, for Calden is the name of a tree in the Scottish language, which the Latins call “corylus,” hazel, whence both the name of the Caledonian wood, I think, originated, and the city of the Caledonians, situate on the river Tay, called at this day Duncalden,* that is the Hazel Hill. And, if I durst permit myself to alter any word in opposition to the concurring testimony of all the copies of Ptolemy, I would, for Deucaledonian, write Duncaledonian; and in Marcellinus, for Dicaledonian, I would substitute Duncaledonian, as the appellation both of the sea and of the people, from the town of Duncalden.

XXIII. Although what I have written ought abundantly to satisfy the unprejudiced reader, I shall notwithstanding subjoin some other remarks, upon subjects which Pliny thinks are indisputable proofs of the origin of nations—these are their religion, their language, and the names of their towns. In the first place, it is perfectly evident, that a unity of sentiment, and a similarity of worship with regard to their gods,

* Dunkeld.

have always formed the firmest links of friendship, and the closest bond of alliance among a people. Now among the Britons and the Gauls, the worship of the gods was the same. The Druidical priesthood was the same in both, and nowhere else, and that superstition so completely pervaded the minds of both nations, that it was doubtful which of them had taught their philosophy to the other. Tacitus says, they both practised the same sacred rites and superstitious observances. Now the Spaniards, great part of whom were of Gallic origin, were not unacquainted with these rites, as an artificial mound mentioned by Livy, indicates, which was situate near New Carthage, and called *Mercurius Teutates*.* The same description

* The god whom the Gauls chiefly worshipped was Mercury, called by the natives, *Theuth*, or *Teutates*, the worship of whom in Spain, if established, would prove the connexion between his worshippers there, and in Britain. The commerce of the Carthaginians with both Britain and Ireland is well known, and probabilities are in favour of an early connexion between their colonies in Spain and these islands; so that, if the Celts were forced by them to go to the north of Spain, they carried with them a knowledge of the existence of Ireland, its climate and fertility, which would induce them to seek refuge there; and thus probability, tradition, the testimony of ancient writers, and similarity of worship corroborate the statement of Buchanan, with regard to the progress of some Celts, at least, from Spain to Ireland.

It must however be remarked, that the passage in Livy, lib. xxvi. cap. 44. *Quod ubi versus Scipio in tumulum, quem Mercurium Teutamem appellant, advertit*, which stood thus in all the earlier editions, has been controverted since the days of Buchanan, and that Gronovius proposes the following version as the most accurate—*Quod ubi egressus Scipio in tumulum, quem Mercurii vocant, animadvertit*. If, however, the universality of Druidism be established in North Britain, it follows, that the whole population were at first, as Buchanan asserts, of Gaulish origin.

It has been disputed, whether ever the Druidical religion obtained any footing in Scotland, Pink. Essay, vol. i. p. 17. or whether it was known beyond the island of Mona, or Anglesey, and the southern bound of Celtica in Gaul. As this doubt originates only in conjecture, it is not meeting it unfairly to oppose it by tradition, and a colloquial peculiarity of the Celtic. "There is, I am informed," says Dr. Jamieson, "a pretty general tradition in the Highlands of Scotland, that the Culdees immediately succeeded the Druids, as the ministers of religion; and it is said that they received the name of *Cuildeach*, as delighting, like the priests of heathenism, in retired situations. The reader may lay what stress he pleases on this tradition, but it perhaps deserves to be mentioned, that, according to a writer in the *Statist. Acct.* vol. xiv. 199., the Druids undoubtedly possessed I, before the in-

of Poets, too, was held in the highest honour by the Gauls and the Britons, and by both were styled **BARDS**, the name and function of whom are still preserved, among all nations who use the ancient language of the Britons ; and in such respect

troduction of Christianity. A green eminence, he says, close to the sound of I, is to this day called the Druids' burial place, Gael claudh nan Druineach. A cottager some years ago planting potatoes in this spot, and digging earth to cover them, brought up some bones, which the people of the island immediately concluded to be the bones of the Druids ; the tradition is that the first Christians banished the Druids, and took possession of their seats. The tradition that the Culdees succeeded the Druids, at no great distance of time, might seem to be supported by a circumstance of an interesting nature, which has been mentioned by several writers in our Statistic Accounts—that *Clachan*, the name still given in the Highlands to the place where a church stands, originally belonged to a Druidical temple ; hence, it is still said, ' Will ye go to the stones ?' or, ' Have you been at the stones ?' that is, will you go to, or, have you been at church. As it is of some consequence to establish this point, I copy the illustration of this singular colloquialism, from the Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language—*Clachan*, a small village in which there is a Parish church, so denominated in places bordering on the Highlands, or where the Gael has formerly been spoken ; elsewhere it is called a Kirk-town. It must, however, be observed, that Gael *Clachan* has been explained a circle of stones ; it has been asserted, that churches were erected in the same places, which in times of heathenism, had been consecrated to Druidical worship ; and the Statistic Accounts of Aberfoyle, Glenorchy, formerly *Clachan Dysart*, Celtic, the ' temple of the highest,' Callendar, and Harris are quoted as authorities. It is probable that Druidism was not extinct, even in the age of Columba. The history of Bede has been appealed to in proof of this ; but many will hesitate as to the propriety of the appeal, as we have it on good authority, that the Druidical rites were not practised by the Germans. A writer, however, of great ingenuity, and of considerable learning, thinks that the Saxons, after the abolition of Druidism by the British emperor, restored the same worship when they had conquered South Britain ; the passage merits attention—for, although the author be viewed as proceeding on a false theory, he has brought forth a singular fact with respect to the meaning in the Gaelic language, of a designation used by the venerable historian, which, if there be no mistake in his assertion, points out an analogy that could not have been supposed.—' I have already observed,' he says, ' that these victorious infidels [the Pagan Saxons] brought the word *Dry* from Germany, [as being the name by which every German priest was called ;] together with the name, they certainly introduced the office, being superstitiously devoted to Tuisto, Woden, and Thor. The history of king Edwin's conversion, in Bede, and the great revolution brought about in the kingdom of Northumberland at that time in spiritual matters, is a sufficient demonstration of this position. One circumstance is sufficient for my purpose to mention con-

are they held in many places, that their persons are esteemed sacred, and their houses sanctuaries; and during the fiercest wars, carried on between the most exasperated enemies, accustomed to use their victories in the most cruel manner, they

cerning the conversion of Edwin.—After Paulinus had exhorted Edwin to embrace the Christian faith, agreeably to the instructions he had formerly received from a person sent from the invisible world, the king summoned his friends and great council to have their advice and approbation. One of the counsellors or princes was the pagan high-priest, or *primus pontificum*; the name or rather title of this high-priest, or *pontifex maximus*, was *Coifi*, or *Coefi*. I know not whether any one has attempted to explain the meaning of this word; it was in my opinion, the common title of every Druidical superintendent of spiritual affairs. The Highland talemakers talk frequently concerning *Caffie*, or *Coiffie Dry*; and by these two words, they mean a person of extraordinary sense, skill, and cunning. *Dry* undoubtedly signifies a Druid, a wise man, a prophet, a philosopher, and sometimes a magician, in the Gaelic; *Coiffie Dry*, Bede's *Coiffie*, or *primus pontificum*, stands for the principal Druid, or what such a person ought to be, a man supremely wise and learned.' Dr. M'Pherson's Critical Dissertations.—'To do justice to this ingenious writer, it should be observed that he had previously endeavoured to show that the *Tuisco*, or *Tuisto* of Germany, was the same with the *Teutates* of Gaul, and that the *Thor* of the Celto-Scythians of Germany, as he calls them, was the *Taranis* of their neighbours to the south, that is the god of thunder.' The tradition is also mentioned in Smith's Life of Columba; and Mr. Ferguson, minister of Moulin, not long ago, had in his parish an old man, who, although very regular in his devotions, never addressed the Supreme Being by any other title than that of *Arch Druid*."—Hist. Culd. pp. 24—28. Martin reports the belief in his day, and yet where all is tradition and conjecture, the oldest is certainly the best. "In Lewis," he says, "the most remarkable stones for number, bigness and order, that fell under my observation, were at the village of Classerness, where there are 39 stones set up, 6 or 7 feet high, and 2 feet in breadth each. They are placed in form of an avenue, the breadth of which is 8 feet, and the distance between each stone, 6; and there is a stone set up in the entrance of this avenue. At the south end there is joined to this range of stones, a circle of 12 stones of equal distance and height with the other 39. There is one set up in the centre of this circle, which is 13 feet high, and shaped like the rudder of a ship; without this, there are 4 stones standing to the west, at the same distance with the stones in the circle, and there are 4 stones set up in the same manner, at the south and east sides. I inquired of the inhabitants, what traditions they had from their ancestors, concerning these stones? and they told me it was a place appointed for worship in the time of heathenism, and that the chief Druid, or Priest, stood near the big stone in the centre, whence he addressed himself to the people that surrounded him." Descript. of the Western Islands, p. 9.

and their attendants may pass and repass through the midst of the enraged opponents without injury. When they visit the nobles, they are received honourably, and dismissed magnificently; and they compose songs, far from being rude or inellegant, which the Minstrels either recite, or sing, accompanied by the harp, to the chiefs and their vassals, who listen to them with the keenest avidity and delight. Many of these ancient institutions still exist, nor are they in Ireland changed almost in any thing, except in the religious rites and ceremonies. Having said this much with respect to religion,

xxiv. It remains that I notice the ancient language, and the names of the towns and nations. These subjects, however, I must often treat of promiscuously, because the one is frequently founded upon the other, particularly when a proper name, either by its derivation or declension, asserts its country. But even these, although they often by mutual connexion establish each other, I shall, as far as can be done, discuss separately for the sake of precision. Tacitus, in the life of his father-in-law, affirms that the language of Gaul, did not differ widely from the language of Britain; from which I infer, that they were formerly the same, but by degrees, either from their intercourse with foreign nations, their becoming acquainted with things of which they formerly were ignorant, the invention of new arts, and the frequent change of the form of their garments, armour, and household furniture, a change of speech naturally took place; the language being in some respects improved, in others adulterated, many new words being introduced, and many old ones becoming obsolete. And let any person, only reflect how much influence popular caprice, fastidiousness, and a desire of innovation, have, and ever had, upon language, and he will find how true is the observation of the best of poets and the first of critics.

*Ut silvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt; ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
Et juvenum ritu florent modo nata, vigentque.**

*As from the trees old leaves drop off, and die
While others sprout, and a fresh shade supply*

* Hor. de ars poetica.

So fare our words—time withers them, but dead,
A fresher language rises in their stead.

And a little after.

Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere ; cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi.*

Words shall revive again which now are dead,
And those that flourish, droop, if fashion bid,
For her's the laws to frame, the forms to teach,
And reign, almost, sole arbitress of speech.

If Horace wrote thus of the Roman language, a language which was preserved uncorrupted by the great care of the citizens, and which all the nations, contained within the wide bounds of the empire, studiously cultivated; we need not be astonished, that a language unsettled at home—even before the Gauls had sent colonies abroad, and thus corrupted it by their admixture with other nations—barbarous at first, and neglected by those who spoke it, when coming again from a foreign soil into Britain, at that time divided into many kingdoms, and exposed to every stranger, should not always remain uncontaminated. At first, Strabo thinks, the Celtæ and Belgæ used different dialects. Then, when the Celtæ sent out large colonies to Spain, as the names of the Celteberi and Celtici evince, and the Belgæ seized upon the maritime parts of Britain, as may be perceived from the names of Venta Belgarum, of the Atrebatî and Icenî, would it not happen that in the one case, the Spaniards, and in the other, the Romans, the English, Danes, and Normans, bringing with them many foreign words, would corrupt the language of the country. But, I think, it is indeed a matter of astonishment, that, during such a length of time, while the languages of the neighbouring nations have been altered, and in a great part vitiated by the influx of strangers, the languages of Britain should not have been altogether changed, rather than that they should simply vary in their dialects; for if any one of either of these nations hear a person speaking British, he

* Hor. de ars poetica.

still recognises the sound of the language, and understands many of the words, although he may not be able to follow the whole discourse. Nor ought it to appear strange, if we do not always find the same word signifying the same thing, when we reflect what changes the language of any nation continually undergoes from their intercourse with others; and, in daily conversation, how many new words spring up with new inventions, how many are brought from the utmost ends of the earth by merchants, how many old ones die, how many are lengthened by the addition of letters and syllables, how many are shortened by their being taken away, and how many recast by alteration and transposition.

xxv. I shall not inquire how much, or in how short a time the Ionian degenerated from the Attic, nor how much both differed from the rest of the Greeks, let us only attend to the languages of the noblest nations of Europe. The French, Italian, and Spanish, derived from the same root, how quickly did they degenerate from the purity of the Latin tongue; nor is there less discrepancy between them, than between the ancient Scottish and British; if we look at the several provinces of France—I mean those who are understood to speak French—what a variance shall we find between the language of the Provinciales and the Gascons; how much do the inhabitants of Aquitaine, Perigou, and Auvergne, differ from both and from each other, and how distinct from them all, are the rest of the French people. But to produce a more striking example—the English laws, published about five hundred years ago, by William the Norman, in French, cannot now be understood by a Frenchman, without a glossary. Nay, if any man who has lived some little time in the world, will but recal to his recollection, how many words, in common use among his boyish companions, are now become obsolete, and how many, unknown to our ancestors, have arisen in their place, he will not be astonished that a language originally the same, should, among nations widely scattered, and often at war, by degrees, in the course of a long time, become so much changed as almost to appear totally different. On the other hand, when I see, with regard to the British language, an accordance, not for years but for ages, among nations, either

widely spread over different regions of the world, or separated by mutual enmities, such as does not exist among many tribes of the French, who have so long lived under the same king, and the same laws—when, therefore, I perceive such an agreement in speech, which still serves to point out, and that not obscurely, an ancient alliance and a similar origin, I am easily induced to believe, that before the coming of the Saxons, a language nearly the same was spoken by all the Britons.* It is likely the inhabitants next the Gallic shore used the Belgic, from which coast a great part of the neighbouring British had passed over, as we are informed by Cæsar; but the Irish, and the colonies sent from them, having sprung from the Celtic inhabitants of Spain, it is very probable, used the Celtic. When these people, therefore, having returned, as it were, from a long peregrination, occupied neighbouring countries, and became commixed almost nearly into one, they formed by the confusion of their idiomatic phrases, a heterogeneous dialect, not exactly like the language of the Celtæ, nor altogether similar to that of the Belgæ, yet not wholly different from either, such as may be considered to belong to those nations, who are said to speak German, but yet appear to differ greatly from the ancient tongue; I mean the Danes, maritime Saxons, Frieslanders, and English, among whom it is easy to find certain letters, sounds, and inflexions, proper alone to the Germans, and common to no other nation. Whence, I am of opinion, that more certain criteria of the affinity of a language may be deduced from the sound of letters in general, or from the manner in which particular nations familiarly pronounce certain letters, and, likewise, from the

* The argument with regard to language, is derived from the Celtic, and proceeds upon the assumption that all the Gauls were Celts, and that the ancient Irish, Scots, and Welsh, were the same people; this argument, therefore, must not be confounded with a totally different question, the German or Gothic origin, either of part of the inhabitants of Gaul, the Belgæ, or part of the inhabitants of Scotland, the Picts; this latter question is ably discussed by Dr. Jamieson, in the introduction to his Dictionary, in which he establishes satisfactorily that the origin of the present inhabitants of the Lowlands of Scotland and their language, must have been Gothic, but whether that original was “the Pik,” or latter successive emigrations from the north, may admit of doubt.

composition and declension of words, than from the signification of any single word.

xxvi. There are examples of this in the German letter, W; in the words, *Moremarusa*, and *Armorica*, of which I have already spoken; and in the declension of these words, which among the French end in *ac*, of which there are an innumerable quantity, and which forms a diminutive among the Scots, as it did among the ancient Gauls. From *Drix*, which among the Scots, signifies a Brier, is derived *Drissac*, which signifies a Little Brier; and from *Brix*, * which means a Breach, comes *Brixac*—a Little Breach, pronounced by the French, *Brissac*, for the same word, which the ancient Scots call *Brix*, the modern French, pronounce *Bresche*, the cause of which discrepancy in the writing is, that the ancient Scots, and all the Spaniards, still use the letter x, instead of the double s. Thus the ancient Gauls, from *Brix* of the *Cœnomanni*, called the name of a town, *Brixia*, and again, from *Brixia*, *Brixiac*—in the modern French, *Brissac*. After the same manner, from *Aurelia*, *Aureliac* † is formed; and from *Ebura*, of the Spaniards, styled also *Cerealis*, or *Ebora*, styled also *Felicitus Julia*, a town is called *Eborac*, by the *Brigantes*—descendants of the Spaniards—who retained the Gallic mode of forming the derivative. Besides what I have mentioned, all the south-west coast of Britain retains striking marks, both of Gallic language and origin, which are corroborated by the express testimony of foreign nations. First, on that side, occurs, what many of the ancients call *Cornuwallia*, or *Cornavia*, commonly *Kernico*, like as among the Scots, the *Cornavii*, placed by Ptolemy, in the northernmost extremity,

* *Brix*, a town of the *Cenomani*, a people of Cisalpine Gaul; *Brixac*, now *Brissac*, was a town of one of their colonies, as if they had called it Little *Brix*, or as we would call it New *Brix*; so *Ebora*, now *Evora*, was a town in Portugal. *Ebora*, now *Alcala Real*, a town in Spain, and *Eborac*, or Little *Ebora*, a town of the *Brigantes*, now the city of *York*, in England, a colony descended from the Spanish Gauls, who named their capital after a town of the parent country, as their descendants in North America, have named their state and city, *New York*, thus announcing the country from whence they came, and the people from whom they sprung.

† *Orleans*.

are vulgarly called Kernice; now, Cornuallia is derived from Kernici, and Vallis, as if you had said Kernici-Galli, Cornish-Gauls. Vallia, likewise, a peninsula on the same coast, both in name and language, declares its ancestry. Those who pronounce this name nearest in sound to the German, enunciate it with the W, a letter peculiar to the Germans alone, and which the neighbouring nations, who retain the ancient language, cannot at all pronounce; no, not torture itself could make either a Cornish, Irish, or ancient Scotsman express it; and when a Frenchman wishes to name Vallia, G is always the first letter. Nor in this word alone, is this peculiarity to be remarked, but in many others, which have the letter G for their initial; even the Gallic language itself, is called Wallic, by those who, from their proximity to Germany, *Germanize* it, and in an infinity of other instances, do they use this permutation of letters. On the contrary, that country which the English call Wales, and North Wales, is denominated Galles, and Nor Galles, by the French, who still pertinaciously adhere to the remains of their ancient tongue.

xxvii. Polydore Virgil * pleases himself as with a new fancy, which he thinks he alone has discovered, but which no man in the least acquainted with the German tongue, is ignorant of, that the word Walsch, in that language, signifies a stranger, and hence the name Valli, or strangers. In this he seems to me, to plume himself without cause, for if that name had been given, on account of their being strangers, I think it would have much more properly applied to the English, who had but lately arrived in the country, than to those who, from their antiquity, were by many of the ancients believed to have been indigenous; but if the name was imposed by the English, why did they not rather bestow it on the Scots, or the Picts, who deserved it better than the Britons, as their intercourse with them was more rare, and their acquaintance much less? Or, if the English had given the

* Polydore Virgil, a native of Italy, sent to England, as a papal tax-gatherer in the beginning of the sixteenth century, where he obtained various preferments, and at the command of Henry VII. wrote the History of England here referred to. It cost him twelve years' labour, but his history pleased neither the English nor the Scots, perhaps a proof of his impartiality.

name Valli in contempt, would these Britons, for so many ages the inveterate enemies of the English, and even now more hostile than friendly, have acknowledged that name, which they do cheerfully, although in their own language they call themselves Cambrians? But the word Walsch, does not, in German, signify simply a stranger, or a barbarian, but in its primary and proper sense, means a Gaul; wherefore the word Vallia, is, I think, the same as the word Gallia, unchanged by the English, who in this agreed with the other neighbouring nations, but preserved the custom of the German language, in enunciating the first letter *Wallia*. The ancients, indeed, called the inhabitants of this peninsula, Silures, as appears from Pliny, which name, a certain part of Wales retained long among their posterity. But Leland,* himself a native Briton, a man uncommonly industrious in examining the antiquities of his own country, affirms that that part of Wales, was formerly called Ross, which word, in the Scottish language, signifies a peninsula. The neighbouring nations, however, seem to have used a word, which should point out the origin of the people, rather than the situation or form of the country. In like manner, the name of the Scots was formed; for although they called themselves Albines, declined from the word Albium, yet the neighbouring nations named them Scots, by which name, their descent from the Irish was affirmed. Following the same coast, to the westward, Gallovidia, Galloway, is evidently a word, which both in Scots and Welsh, signifies Gaul, whether the name be Gallia with the one, or Vallia, with the other. The English call it Wallowithia. A great part of this country still uses its ancient language.

xxviii. These three nations, which possess, the whole coast of Britain that looks towards Ireland, preserve the indelible marks of Gallic speech and affinity. But it is worthy of particular notice, that the ancient Scots divided all the nations

* Leland, John, a great English antiquary, born in London, 1507, he was munificently encouraged by Henry VIII. He died soon after his patron. His MSS. were of immense use to Cambden, and succeeding antiquaries; they were collected in the Bodleian and Cottonian libraries. His Itinerary was published in the beginning of last century.

who inhabited Britain, into two classes, the one they called Gael, the other Galle, or Gald, that is, according to my interpretation, Galæci,* and Galli. The Galæci valued themselves on that name, that is the name of Gael, and call, as I have said, their language Galæcan, or Gaelic, and glory in it, as the more polished and elegant; the other, that is the Galle, or Gaul, they despise as barbarous, in comparison of themselves; and although the Scots at first called the Britons, that is the most ancient inhabitants of the island, Gauls, yet the custom obtained by degrees, that they called all the nations, who have more recently settled in Britain, by the same name, rather contumeliously than out of respect, for the word Galle, or Gald, has among them the same signification, as Barbarian, among the Greeks and Latins, or Walsch, among the Germans.

XXIX. I come now to show from the names of towns, rivers, countries, and from other similar evidence, that the Gauls and Britons spoke the same language, and from thence prove their ancient consanguinity, a difficult subject, requiring to be examined with the most diligent attention. I have already remarked by how many causes a common language may be changed, for although not wholly, and at once altered, yet, being in a state of constant fluctuation, it is, from its flexible nature, very apt to follow the caprice of innovators. This is chiefly apparent, in regard to those things which are exposed, not only to the operation of time, but to be the sport of every whim, such as articles of daily use, the names of which, from very trifling causes, grow obsolete, or are revived, or altered; but there is a mighty difference with respect to those things which are eternal, as the heavens, the earth, and the sea, mountains, countries, and rivers; and even in those which, though less durable, because they partake of the infirmity of man, yet resemble in some degree, those which are more lasting and unchangeable; such are towns, which are built as if they were to remain for ever. It is not easy to give new names to cities, or nations, or change the old ones, because

* Galæci—Galicians, as denoting their own origin from the Gauls of Galicia in Spain. Galle, or Gald, marking the origin of the others from Gaul—France.

these were not given rashly, but imposed at first, with the consent and advice of the people, by founders to whom antiquity has frequently ascribed divine honours, and as far as possible, clothed with immortality; these names are, therefore, deservedly stable, nor do they give way, except in consequence of some mighty revolution; even after a whole language is changed, these pertinaciously remain, and are never willingly abandoned, the cause which first originated them, contributing much to their durability; and, in emigrations, those who were either driven from their ancient habitations, or, of their own accord, sought new ones, when they had lost their country, yet retained the name, delighting in a sound so grateful to their ears, and reposing under the shade of a similar appellation, they alleviated their regrets for an absence from their native land, and seemed to be no longer in exile, or wandering at a distance from home. Nor were there wanting some, who, imbued with religious feeling, beheld the resemblance with sensations more holy and venerable than walls and buildings alone could inspire, and embraced with more than paternal love, this delightful pledge of their former country.

xxx. A more certain argument of affinity may, therefore, be drawn from such words, than from those which, for little or no cause, are given and taken away from things of the moment; for though it is possible that the same word, by accident, may be used in different countries, it is not likely that nations, scattered far and wide, should agree in fortuitously giving the same names, so often to the same things. In the next place, are those names which are derived, or compounded from primitives; and often the similarity of declension, and composition, indicate more decisively the relation of a word, than the first vocable itself, because these are often accidentally imposed, while the others are declined by a positive rule, and directed by a certain example, which the Greeks call analogy. Wherefore, this certain and perpetual rule of nominal affinity, as Varro expresses it, leads us to a certain generic affinity, and common origin of language. There is also a peculiarity in particular primitive words, by which we may distinguish whether they belong to the country in which they are used,

or have been adopted from another ; for instance, the words *Philosophia*, *Geometria*, and *Dialectica*, although often used by Latin writers, never have, in the Latin language, any cognate vocable, from which they could be derived, or from which they could appear to derive an origin ; on the other hand, *Paradisus*, and *Gaza*,* are used in Greek, and that they are foreign easily appears, because neither a primitive, whence they could have been derived, nor a derivative, to which they could have given rise, can be shown in the whole language. The same observation will apply to other languages, and enable us to separate the native, from the alien terms, which have been adopted.

xxxI. Having said this much in general, I shall now produce particular examples. The first that occur, are the words ending in *Bria*, *Briga*, and *Brica*. *Bria*, *Strabo* tells us, [Book 7th] signifies a city, and *Stephanus* agrees with him ; and, to confirm this interpretation, they bring forward, as derived thence, *Poltymbria*, *Brutobria*, *Mesembria*, and *Salymbria*. But what they call *Brutobria*, others term *Brutobrica*, and the words that end in *Briga*, with *Ptolemy*, terminate in *Brica*, according to *Pliny* ; which renders it probable that *Bria*, *Briga*, and *Brica*, all signify the same thing. And that the origin of the whole is from *Gaul*, is apparent from this circumstance, that the *Gauls* anciently sent colonies into *Thrace* and *Spain*, but we never hear of the *Thracians* or *Spaniards* sending colonies into *Gaul*. Of the description of words referred to, the following are generally used by the most approved writers.

Abobrica,† in the district of the *Bracarensi*; *Amalobrica*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*; ‡ *Arabrica*, in the district of the *Bracarensi*; *Arabrica*, in *Lusitania*; § *Arcobrica*, among the *Celtiberians*; || *Arcobrica*, among the *Celtici* in *Lusitania*; *Arcobrica*, in the *Cæsar Augustine* district; ¶ *Artobrica*, in

* *GAZA*, a treasure city, where the *Persians* placed the tribute collected from their western provinces ; whence riches were called *Gaza*, corrupted *Casa*—*Cash*.

† A town in *Portugal*.

‡ Vide Note, Book I. chap. 22.

§ *Portugal*.

|| A people in *Spain*.

¶ Named from *Cæsar Augusta*, a city in *Spain*, now *Saragossa*.

the country of the Vindelici; * Augustobrica, in Lusitania; another among the Vectones; † a third, among the Pelendones; and Axabrica, in Lusitania.

Bodobrica, in Upper Germany; Brige, in Britain; Brige, a village in the Cottonian Alps; Brutobrica, situate between the Turduli, ‡ and the river Boetis. §

Cæliobrica, among the Cœlerini; || Cæsarobrica, in Lusitania; Calobrica, among the Turduli; Corimbrica, in Lusitania, so named by Pliny, but if I mistake not, corrupted for Conimbrica, which is mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and still retains its ancient name; it is situate on the river Munda; Cotteobrica, among the Vectones.

Deobrica, among the Vectones, and another among the Autrigones; Deobricula, among the Morbogi; Dessobrica, not far from Lacobrica.

Flaviobrica, at the Port Amanum. ¶ Ptolemy, in the Autrigones, calls it Magnus, [great,] and I am uncertain whether it ought not to be read, Magnus, in Pliny.

Gerabrica, in the district of Scalabitanus, the same with Jerabrica.

Juliobrica, among the Cantabrians, ** formerly Brigantia.

Lacobrica, among the Vaccæi; †† and another in the sacred promontory; ‡‡ Lancobrica, among the Celtici in Lusitania; Latobrigi, near the Helvetians.

Medubrica, in Lusitania, surnamed Plumbaria, by Pliny; this, if I mistake not, is called Mundobrica, in the Itinerary of Antoninus; Merobrica, surnamed Celtica, in Lusitania; Mirobrica, in the country of the Oretani; §§ another in Bæturia, or in the country of the Turdani Bætici.

Nemetobrica, among the Celtici, in Lusitania; and another among the Celtiberians, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, Nitobrica.

* A warlike people, whose country extended from the lake of Constance to the Danube.

† A tribe in Spain, adjoining to the Celtiberi.

‡ A people of Algarva, in Portugal.

§ A great river in Spain, now the Guadalquivir. || A tribe in Portugal.

¶ A town in Spain, not far from Bilbao, [now Vermejo.]

** A people in Spain. †† A people of Leon, in Spain. ‡‡ Cape St. Vincent.

§§ A people in Spain, between the rivers, Anas and Bætis.

Segobrica, the capital of Celtiberia, according to Ptolemy. Talabrica, in Lusitania; Turobrica, among the Celtici Bæticæ; Tuntobrica, among the Bracarian Galæci.

Vertobrica, among the Celtici Bæticæ;* Volobrica, among the Nemetis.†

The authorities referred to by Buchanan for the preceding list of names, are, Cæsar, Tacitus, Ptolemy, Pliny, the Itinerary of Antoninus, and Stephanus.

XXXII. To this formation appear to belong a great many names of towns and people, in all the provinces into which the colonies of the Gauls had been led. Thus, from Burgo, Burgundus, and Burgundy, and from Briga, Brigantes; the nominative case of this last word, is Brigas, according to Stephanus, whence we decline Brigantes, as from Gigas, we form Gigantes. There are also Brigantes, mentioned by Strabo, situate in the Cottian Alps. In the same tract is the village Brige; and the Brigiani, in the trophy of Augustus, are recorded among the Alpine nations. Brigantium is an Alpine town; and the Brigantians are in the country of the Vindelici, according to Strabo. Brigantia appears in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and Briga, a mountain near the sources of the Rhine and Danube, in Ptolemy. There is a Brigantium, in Reia, according to the same author, a town which, I think the same as that, in The Description of the Provinces of the Roman Empire, called Brecantia—there is also the lake Brigantinus. Ptolemy mentions the nation of the Brigantes, in Ireland; and in Albium, the Brigantes, are noticed both by Ptolemy, Tacitus, and Seneca. The town Brige, and Isobrigantium, are in the Itinerary of Antoninus; and in Orosius, there is Brigantium, a town in the Celtic promontory. Flavio-brigantium, in Ptolemy, in the Great Port, and a more recent Brigantia—now Braganza—in the kingdom of Portugal.

XXXIII. There are other names formed from the word Dun, having it either as the beginning, or the termination, which

* The descendants of the Celtæ, or Gauls, are in general denominated Celtici; the Celtici Bæticæ, were inhabitants of Bætica, a part of Spain, about Andalusia.

† A people upon the Rhine, near Spires, in Germany.

the banks of sand, on the shores of the Morini, still calld Duni, show to have been Gallic; and the sand banks on the opposite English coast, also still called by the same name, the Downs. Plutarch, too, the author of the Treatise on Rivers, when explaining the origin of Lugdunum, Lyons, acknowledges Dun as a Gallic word; and among the nations who use the ancient language of the Gauls uncorrupted, there is scarcely a word more frequently employed in expressing the names of villages or towns; I mean the Britons, in Gallia Celtica, the ancient Scots, in Ireland and Albion, and the Welsh and Cornish, in England; for there are none of these nations, who do not acknowledge the word as their own. There is only this difference, the ancient Gauls, in words so formed, made Dun, the termination, while the Scots, for the most part, placed it in the beginning of the name; of this the following are examples:

In France,—Augustodunum, a town of the Edui, now Autun, Burgundy. Castellodunum, in the province of the Carnuti, now Chartres. Melodunum, near the river Sequana, now Seine. Lugdunum, Lyons, at the confluence of the Aar and the Rhone. Augustodunum, a town of the Averni, Autun, in Auvergne. Lugdunum, a town of the Conveni, St. Bertrand, in Guienne. Novidunum, of the Trebocci, Soissons. Uxellodunum, a town of Guienne. Juliodunum,* in the country of the Pictoni, now Poitiers. Isodunum, and Regiodunum, in the country of the Biturges, now Berry. Laodunum, in the country of the Remensi, Rheims. Cæsardunum, of the Turones, Tournois. Segodunum, in the country of the Rutheni, now Aquitaine. Vellaunodunum.

In Spain,—Calodunum, a town of the Bracari. Sebedunum.

In Britain,—Camelodunum, a town of the Brigantes, Doncaster, in Yorkshire, according to Cambden. Camulodunum, a Roman colony, Malden, in Essex. Dunum, a town of the Durotriges, in Dorsetshire. Maridunum, a town of the Demetæ, Caermarthen, Wales. Rigodunum, a town

* Several Roman ladies and empresses were called Julia, from Julius; and a great number of cities in the provinces were named after them.

of the Brigantes, Ribchester, in Lancashire. Cambodunum, ruins near Almonbury, Yorkshire. Margidunum. Sorviodunum, or Sorbiodunum, Old Sarum, Wiltshire. Segodunum, Seaton; Axelodunum, Hexham; both in Northumberland.

More recently in England,—Venantodunum, Huntington, Dunelmum, Durham.

In Scotland,—Duncaledon, named also Caledonia, Dunkeld. Deidunum, or rather Taodunum, on the river Tay, Dundee. Edinodunum, which name the ancient Scots still retain, but which those who *Germanize*, call Edinburgh. Noviodunum, New Doun, Dunoon Castle in Cowal. Britanodunum, Dunbarton, at the confluence of the Clyde and Leven.

In Ireland,—Dunum, Doun, which is the name of a county, and a town.

And besides the above, there are at this day innumerable names of castles, villages, or hills, composed from the same word Dun.

In Germany,—We read in Ptolemy, of Lugdunum, Leyden; Segodunum, Nuremberg; Tarrodunum, Friburg; Robodunum, Brin; Carrodunum, Crainburgh.

In the Alps,—Ebrodunum, Yverdon; Sedunum, Sion.

In Vindelicia, Bavaria, Rhætia, the Grisons, and Noricum, on the borders of both,—Cambodunum, Munchen; Carrodunum, Cracow; Gessodunum, Idunum, Noviodunum, and, Parrodunum, Partenkirche.

In Sarmatia and Dacia, there are Carrodunum, and Singidunum, on the Danube, Noviodunum, at the mouth of the Danube, and also another Noviodunum.

xxxiv. There are in the same provinces, not a few words declined with Dur, which word, among the ancient Gauls and Britons, signified water, and still retains, among some, the same meaning.

In France,—The Durocotti, in the district of Rheims; it is written likewise Durocorti. Divodurum of the Mediomatrici,* and Divodurum, near Paris. Batavodurum among

* Mediomatrici, a people about the city Metz, on the Mozelle.

the Batavians; Breviodurum; Ganodurum, near the Rhine; Ganodurum, in Switzerland; Octodurum, or Octodurus,* among the Veragri.

In Rhætia, Vindelicia, and Noricum,—Bragodurum, Carrodurum, Ebodurum, Gannodurum, and Octodurum, Venaxomodurum, and Boiodurum.

In Spain,—Octodurum, and Ocellodurum; the Douro, a river flowing into the ocean, and the Douro, another emptying itself into the Mediterranean sea.

And Dur, a river in Ireland.

In Britain,—Durocobrivæ, † Duroprovæ, ‡ Durolenum, § Duroversum, || Durolipons, ¶ Durotriges, ** Durocornovium, †† Durolitum, ‡‡ Duronovaria, Lactodurum. §§

Perhaps to the same origin, belong the two Alpine rivers, Doria the greater, and Doria the less, the one flowing through the country of the Salassi, and the other past Turin, towards the Po; likewise, Issidorus, and Altissidorus, cities of Gaul, so named, in my opinion, from their being situate near rivers. To this formation, also, may belong Dureta, which word, in the Spanish, signifies a Wooden throne, as Suetonius tells us in his life of Augustus; and, likewise, Domnacus, the proper name of a man, according to Cæsar, but, which appears to me, to be a corruption from Dunacus; for Dunach may signify Duanus, or Duensis, in the same way that Romach does Romanus. Dunacus, or rather Dunachus, is still used as a proper name; which name, is improperly translated Duncan, and Donat, by those who do not understand the Latin or British languages. *For authorities, see page 108.*

xxxv. Magus, likewise, an ancient word, in all the provinces where the Gallic language was commonly spoken, was frequently employed in expressing the names of cities; which,

* Now Martignac, in the Vallais.

† Redborn, in Hertfordshire. ‡ Rochester, in Kent. § Lenham, Kent.

|| Canterbury. ¶ Gormancester, or Godmanchester, near Huntingdon.

** Dorsetshire. †† Cirencester. ‡‡ Leiton, according to Cambden.

§§ Its site uncertain. Different writers apply the name to Bedford, to Stony Stratford, and Loughborough.

circumstance, shows it to have been originally Gallic; but, with regard to its derivatives, I rather suppose, than am able certainly to affirm, that they were used to signify either a home, a city, or a building. In "The Description of the Empire of the Roman People," we read, "The Prefect of the Pascensian levies, in garrison at Magus;" and also in the same book, "The Tribune of the second cohort, stationed at Magus." We likewise find "Magnos," in the Itinerary of Antoninus, but whether one town or several, I dare not pronounce positively; I am more inclined to the belief that it meant several. From Magus, however, the following names have sprung—Noviomagus among the Santoni; Noviomagus of the Lexovii; Noviomagus of the Vadecassi; Noviomagus of the Nemetes; Noviomagus of the Tricastini; Noviomagus of the Biturgii; Juliomagus of the Andegavi; Rotomagus of the Nervii; Rotomagus of the Venelocassi; Cæsaromagus of the Bellovaci; Borbetomagus of the Vangiones in Upper Germany; Vindomagus of the Volsci Arecomico, in Ptolemy; and in the Itinerary of Antoninus, there are Argentomagus, and Noviomagus, in Upper Germany. In The Description of the Roman Empire, Noviomagus, of Lower Belgium; in Rhætia, Drusomagus, Ptolemy. In Britain, mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus, are Cæsaromagus; Sitomagus; Noviomagus, of the Regni; Vacomagus; Magiovinus; and Vacomagus, as belonging to the Picts.

xxxvi. There are other names of places, common to many of these nations, not so frequently used, nor so widely scattered as the former; such are Hibernia, the Roman name of an island, called by Pomponius Mela, Ptolemy, and Juvenal, Juverna; by Strabo, Claudian, and the inhabitants, Ierna. What with some is the Nerian promontory, is the Ierna, of Strabo; the Iernus, a river of Galætia, is the Ierna, of Mela. There is the Iernus, a river of Ireland, according to Ptolemy, and the Erne, a Scots river falling into the Tay; another of the same name, runs through Murrayshire; the country adjacent to both, is called Ierna. Mediolanum, the name of a town of the Insubres, according to Ptolemy; of another of the Santoni; of another of the Aulerci Eburaici; of another on the Loire; of another on the Seine, which is

now, I believe, called Melun; another in Upper Germany, now named Augsburg; another on the Danube; another in Britain, of which mention is made in the Itinerary of Antoninus. Marcolica, the name of a town in Spain, and Macolica, of one in Ireland. Vaga, the name of a river in Portugal, is also the name of a river in Wales. Avo, a river in Galicia, according to Mela, and Avus, in Ptolemy, still retains its name. In Argyle, a river of the same name flows from Loch Awe. There is a sacred promontory in Spain, and another in Ireland. Oscellum, is a promontory in Britain; Oscellum is also in the district of Lacensi, in Galicia; Ocelli, the Ochils in Scotland; Oscellum the last town of Gallia Togata; Uxellum is a town in Britain, perhaps for Oscellum, for Merlin, in explaining the ancient names of the cities of Gaul, notices that he has found this particular name variously written, Ocellum, Oscela, and Oselulm; and hence, perhaps, Uxellodunum, and Uxellodurum, used to be written. Tamarus, a river in Galicia; Tamarus, Tamarici, a people in Galicia; Tamarus, a river, now Tamar, in Devonshire; and Tamara, Tavistock, a town in Britain. Sars, a river in Galicia; and Sarcus, Sark, a river in Scotland. Eborā, a town in Lusitania, now Evora, in the province of Alentejo, called, also, Liberalitas Julia; Ebura, Alcala Real, a town in Spain, called, also, Cerealis in Bætica; Aulericus Eburāicus, in Galicia Celtica; Eboracum, among the Brigantes in Britain, York. Deva, now Dee, a river in England; and in Scotland, the name of one in Galloway, of another in Angus, and of a third, which divides Mearns from Marr. The Cornavii, at the western extremity of England, and at the most northern point of Scotland; both now called Kernici; and there appears to have been a third Kernici, in Scotland, at the mouth of the river Evon, which divides Lothian and Stirlingshire; and Bede places the monastery of Aberkerni, at the end of the wall of Severus, where the ruins of the castle of Abercorn now stand. Avon, as the name of a river, occurs frequently both in Scotland and England; now, Avon, both in Scottish and Welsh, signifies a river. *

* Chalmers, although a decided enemy to Buchanan, avails himself of his acuteness, and pays him a merited tribute of praise, in the following passages.

xxxvii. Of the three nations * who first inhabited the island, the Britons were, after Cæsar's invasion, nearly five hundred years under the yoke of the Roman empire, while the Scots and Picts were governed by their own kings. At length, when all the surrounding nations conspired together, for the overthrow of Rome, all her armies were recalled from the distant provinces, to preserve the safety of Italy. The Britons, thus left without any foreign auxiliaries, and miserably harassed by the Scots and the Picts, called in the Saxons, then infesting the sea with their piratical fleets; a policy which turned out to them most ruinous; for the Saxons having repressed the Scots and the Picts, induced by the fertility of the country, and the imbecility of the inhabitants, aspired to occupy the island themselves. But, after carrying on war with various success, what they could not accomplish by open force, they endeavoured to effect, against the Britons, by fraud. When the chiefs of both parties had assembled to a conference, at an appointed time and place, the Saxons, upon an agreed signal given by their leader Hengist, murdered the whole of the British nobility, and forced the remaining com-

—"Against such history, and such inference," that the Picts were a distinct people, of different origin from the Caledonians, "Buchanan at length made a stand. This acute writer, now insisted that the Picts of the third century, were the descendants of the Caledonians, in the first, who spoke the Celtic tongue. After proving, from an accurate comparison of the names of places in Gaul and Britain, that the Gauls and Britons were the same people," &c. In a note on the above, he says, "This able man [Buchanan] assures us, that before the arrival of the Saxons, none of the British nations, when conversing with one another, used an interpreter; that there are no traces of a foreign tongue, in the peculiar country of the Picts; that names of districts and of towns, which they once inhabited, are still significant in the ancient language. It is curious to remark, that these notions of Buchanan are confirmed by the fact. In this work, B. i. ch. 1. may be seen from an elaborate comparison of the names of places, that North Britain must have been settled by the same Gallic people who colonized South Britain. In B. i. ch. 2. it is evinced by similar comparisons, that the names of tribes and of places, were still Celtic, in the second and third century, without a single trace of any Gothic tongue; and hence, the instructive inference, that a Gothic people had not yet arrived within the Caledonian regions." *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 226.

* The three nations, who came from Germany, were the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles.

monalty, to seek refuge in the barren, and mountainous parts of the country. All the lowlands, by far the most fertile parts of the island, were then seized by them, and divided into seven kingdoms. Such was the state of things in Britain, Anno Domini, 464. But although there were three nations, who at first undertook the expedition from Germany into Britain, the other two yielded the name to the English. Never, however, did the English enjoy, either with the Britons, or among themselves, any secure peace for upwards of 317 years; when about this time, the Danes, powerful at sea, visited England in their roving incursions; being, however, repulsed with severe loss, they returned about thirty-six years after, with greater forces, and effected a descent with a well disciplined army. In the first engagement they were victorious, but, afterward, contended long with the English, without any decisive result, until the year 1012, when Sweno, having completely defeated the Saxons, received the crown by universal consent, which, however, only remained a few years in his family. The Saxons having again created kings of their own; but, in about twenty-four years after, they were conquered by William the Norman, and the greatest part of the nobility being destroyed, their lands were divided among the Normans, and the common people reduced to the most wretched servitude, in which they remained till the time of Henry the Seventh, who, having relieved them of part of their burdens, rendered their situation a little more tolerable. Still, however, all who are honoured by the king, or wish to appear illustrious by their nobility, trace back their genealogy to the Normans.

xxxviii. Such is the information I have been able to obtain from ancient records, and other authentic sources, respecting the origin, institutions, and language, of the three oldest nations in Britain; and which compels me to believe, that the ancient Britons, and the other original inhabitants of Britain, sprung from the Gauls, and used the Gallic tongue from the beginning; of which facts, many and evident traces are to be found, both in France and Britain, at the present hour; and it ought not to appear astonishing, if, in a language which is changing almost every moment, many things should receive

different names, in different places, during such a long period of time. I think it rather wonderful, that the fundamental principles of a language, and the manner of declining it, should be preserved among a people so widely scattered, so rarely agreeing in the other rules of life, and so often opposing each other, with such deadly hatred. Respecting the remaining three nations—the English, the Danes, and the Normans, it is not necessary to inquire very anxiously, as the times of their coming, and the causes which led to them, are quite well known to almost every person. But I undertook my present labour, in order to restore us to our own ancestors, and our own ancestors to us. If I have accomplished this, I shall not repent whatever labour I have expended upon this subject; if not, even those who may differ from me in sentiment, will not, I trust, disapprove of my intention; and I, so far from being irritated, by seeing what I have advanced refuted, shall return my most grateful thanks to him who shall produce something more satisfactory, and extricate me from my error.

xxxix. I had resolved here to finish the dispute respecting the origin of the British nations, had not Lloyd drawn me unwillingly back, by contending that the Scots and Picts came only lately into Scotland. Although I might safely allow the subject to rest without further commentary, I cannot help exhibiting the perversity of this reasoner, from the arguments and evidence, which he himself produces against us. I shall do so briefly, first noticing his manner of arguing, and then the arguments themselves. He says Julius Cæsar, and Cornelius Tacitus, writers of great industry, and also Suetonius, Herodian, and the rest of the Roman authors, who have written respecting the affairs of Britain, never mention either the Scots, or the Picts, therefore they had no residence in Britain, in that age. Wouldst thou then, Lloyd, thyself accept this criterion, that whatever nation is not mentioned by any ancient writer, never had any existence; if thou acknowledgest this, see how many nations thou wilt exile their country, how many thou wilt insert in the condemned lists. How many illustrious men, even thou wilt proscribe. Brutus! Albanactus! and Cambrus! what nations wilt thou blot from remembrance! The Leogri! the Cambri! and the Albani!

giving thee thy own demands, thou tyrant, not only in history, but in grammar; thou who declinest the Albani, from Alban-actis! But if this offer should not seem sufficiently equitable,

——— quia tu gallinæ filius albæ,
Nos viles pulli, nati infelicibus ovis.

Because thou art of a white feather'd brood,
And we are pullets of ignoble blood.

I shall propose another to you, which you ought not to refuse, and which I think, you dare not. It is that species of proof from fragments, whence, if you scratch your head a little, you may prove any thing; and I am the more inclined to use it, because you seem so greatly to prize it, that from a fragment, known only, I believe, to yourself, you sent forth an innumerable multitude of Cimbri,* to the destruction of the Roman empire. Now, from a fragment, I will show you, that the Picts and Scots were in Britain before the age of Vespasian,† which you deny. In your book, to which you have given the name of *Fragmentum Britannicæ Descriptionis*, a fragment of the description of Britain, for this reason chiefly, I suppose, because you thought you had sufficiently proved, from one of two fragments, that the country ought to be called Prytania, rather than Britannia; and from another, that a greater number of Cimbri could be despatched from Prytania, than the whole of Britain was able to produce; and, therefore, you thought you would procure credit enough to your fragment, from the name alone. In that book, you say that the names of Scots and Picts, together with those of Franks and English, were known to the whole Roman world.

XL. As an evidence of this assertion, an excellent one truly!

* Cimbri, a Celtic people, who anciently inhabited Jutland; and Teutones, a nation of the same race, who possessed the islands between it and Scandinavia, whence they burst from Gaul, but being repulsed, turned to Italy, which they ravaged, till subdued by Marius, and Catullus, the Roman consuls, about a century before the Christian æra; these, Lloyd asserts were Welshmen!

† Vespasian was emperor of Rome, about A. D. 70.

you extol the testimony of Mamertinus,* in the panegyric which he pronounced to Maximian, which testimony, if I rightly understand it, makes against you. For Mamertinus, in speaking of the first coming of Julius Cæsar, uses these words, † “ And this nation, then but rude, and accustomed

* The oration in which this passage occurs, is, by mistake, attributed to Mamertinus, both by Lloyd and Buchanan; it was in a panegyric delivered by Eumenius, before Constantius, that the expressions were made use of. Burman supposes that Buchanan must have copied the Edit. of the Panegyrics, 1520, in which this Panegyric is addressed to Maximianus, but the author's name is not mentioned, though afterwards the name of Mamertinus, was added by the Editor.

† The passage here commented upon, has occasioned considerable controversy. Pinkerton observes, Enq. vol. i. p. 108. “ In A. D. 296, the name of PICTI, is first used by Eumenius the Panegyrist, in his oration spoken at the end of that year, upon the victory of Constantius over Allectus. The passage is a famous one; and the more so, as its construction, in the old editions, puzzled Buchanan, and the best Latin scholars,” and after a number of observations on the passage, he adopts the following reading, from the edition of the Panegyrists, published at Nuremberg, by Schwarzius and Jaeger, 1779. *Ad hoc natio tunc rudis; et solis Britanni Pictis modo et Hibernis adsueta hostibus, &c.* translated thus, The nation he attacked was then rude; and the Britons, used *only* to the Picts and Irish as enemies, &c. This correction, which is certainly an amendment, does not, however, interfere with the argument; the Britons had only fought with the Picts and Irish Scots, on the British soil, till Cæsar invaded them, of course there were the Scoto-Irish, and Picts, known in Britain, which is all that is required to be proved. Mr. P. continues, “ Eumenius lived at Augustodunum, or Autun, in Burgundy, a place, now so famous for its number of antiquities, that it has been called the French Rome. He was there professor of rhetoric, and pronounced this oration in presence of Constantius Chlorus, on his victory over Allectus, who had slain Carausius, and usurped the imperial title, in Britain, and who fell in the battle, which was fought, A. D. 296.” “ This custom of pronouncing panegyrics on the emperors, and Cæsars, in their presence, seems to have begun in the time of Trajan; and Pliny's panegyric on that prince, pronounced in his presence, is extant, and well known.” And at page 110, he hazards the following very doubtful assertion. “ Greater accuracy, in facts, and in expression, was naturally expected, and necessarily exercised, on such solemn and trying occasions, when the first audience in the world were witnesses of the narration of their own actions, than even in history, where the writer remained, unawed, and unchecked, in the silence of his cabinet.” That is to say, that a professor of rhetoric, hired to flatter a despot to his face, is more likely to speak the truth, than a historian in his closet, “ unawed, and unchecked.” I suspect Buchanan did not judge of the credibility, due the writings he appealed to, by such criteria.

only to a warfare with the Picts and Irish, of the British soil, [*solī Britannī*] still half naked, easily yielded to the ensigns, and arms of Rome." Now mark, I beseech you, what Lloyd gathers from this testimony; first, the Britons alone, then inhabited the island; next, those who are there called Irish, were afterward called Scots. But the author of the panegyric, says neither. He affirms that, before the coming of Cæsar, the Britons fought against the Scots and Picts, "of the British soil," [*solī Britannī*] that is, inhabiting the British soil, [*in solo Britanno habitantes*] for *solī Britannī*, is not in the nominative, but in the genitive case. The rest he falsely assumes to himself, for, I think, I have sufficiently shown from Paulus Orosius, the Spaniard, and Bede, the Englishman, that all the inhabitants of Ireland were, from the earliest times, called Scots; and at last, when they began to send colonies into Albium, the name of Scots, almost extinct at home, began to be celebrated abroad. In another place he contends that the Caledonians were Britons, on no other grounds than that he had found the Caledonians called Britons, a name common to all the inhabitants of the island; but I have shown already, from the very passage of the panegyric quoted by himself, that the Caledonians were Picts. Marcellinus confirms the same thing, who says, there were two kinds of Picts, Deucaledones, or, as I think it should be read, the Duncaledons, and the Vecturiones. But the Caledonians, or Caledons, inhabited Britain before the time of Vespasian, and were not unknown to the Romans, as Lucan,* who died in the reign of Nero, plainly informs us,

Aut vaga cum Tethys, Ruptinaque litora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.

When the waves rage upon the Kentish coast,
The Caledonian Britons feel no storm.

* Lucan, a celebrated poet, author of the *Pharsalia*, a kind of Epic. He was ordered by Nero to put himself to death, and having opened a vein, he died, repeating some lines of his own poem, descriptive of a dying soldier, about A. D. 54.

XLI. But why should I fatigue myself in procuring foreign witnesses, when I can produce a domestic one, sufficiently explicit. Bede, the author of the Ecclesiastical History of the English nation, who notes the order, and almost the very moment, when the foreign nations came into Britain, says, in his first book, "First the island was inhabited by the Britons, from whom it received its name, who, having come from the country of the Armorici into Britain, occupied the southern parts of it; and when they had possessed themselves of the greatest part of the island, beginning from the south, it happened that the nation of the Picts, from Scythia, it is said, having launched into the ocean, with a few large vessels, after being driven beyond the coast of Britain by the winds, arrived in Ireland." And a little after, "Wherefore, the Picts, coming into Britain, began to inhabit the northern parts of the island, for the Britons occupied the south." And in a few lines afterwards, adds, "And in the succeeding times, after the Britons and the Picts, Britain received a third nation, the Scots, in the Pictish division." And then subjoins, after many other passages: "But the same Britain was inaccessible, and unknown to the Romans, until the time of C. Julius Cæsar." Now, I beseech you, whoever may read these passages, to remark, whence, in what order, and at what time, a writer much older, and of much more weight than Lloyd, affirms that these nations came to Britain. The Britons, first in the order of strangers, came from the country of the Armorici, at an uncertain era. The Picts, from Scythia, next, not long after the coming of the Britons, took possession of that part of the island, which was still uninhabited, and which they had not increased sufficiently to people. What then becomes of the Scots? when did they enter into Britain? In "a succeeding age," says Bede, the Picts having conceded to them part of their vacant territory." Of course, they came after the former. The Britons, therefore, according to Bede, from Armoric Gaul, and the Picts, from Scythia, shortly after, came both to an unoccupied country; and after the island was divided between them, the Scots having arrived, entered, but not by force, and were received into the portion of the Picts, and that long before Britain was known to the Romans.

Now, what can be done with Lloyd, who produces Gildas and Bede to bear witness to his assertion, that the Picts and Scots did first of all fix their habitations in Britain, in the year of our Lord, 420; for Gildas says nothing in his support, and Bede expressly contradicts him. But let the reader neither believe Lloyd nor me, let him, himself, examine the passages in both writers.

XLII. But, Dion, he says, calls the Caledonians, Britons; true he does so, and Lucan, as I have mentioned, and Martial in that verse,

Quinte Caledonios Ovidi visure Britannos.

O ! Quintus Ovidius, about to see the Caledonian Britons.

But none of them, therefore, deny them to be Picts, although with the utmost propriety they call them Britons; for when the whole island is called Britain, all its inhabitants are justly styled Britons; in the same manner as the inhabitants of Sicily, are collectively called Sicilians, by the Romans, without any distinction, yet, among themselves, they are called Siceli, or Sicelides; so the whole inhabitants of Britain, are called Britons by foreigners, but they, themselves, most frequently call the ancient inhabitants Brittons, and the other residents by the particular names of the different nations, while, at the same time, they comprehend them all under the common name of Britons. Thus, therefore, Caledonians, Picts, and Scots, sometimes are denominated, each by the name of their own nation, while they are not unfrequently designated by the general appellation of Britons; but they are never styled Brittons, as far as I recollect. There is another distinction to be remarked, while speaking of the term Britain, similar to that which the Greeks and Latins used, with regard to Asia; for Asia sometimes means the third part of the habitable globe, and sometimes it is applied to that part of Asia major, which lies beyond Mount Taurus, and is usually styled lesser Asia; thus Britain sometimes signifies the name of the whole island; sometimes that part of it subject to the Romans; now, that part which was bounded by the river Humber; and then, that contained within the wall of Hadrian, or the wall of Severus;

though the inhabitants of that part of it, are oftener, by the British writers, styled Brittons, than Britons; but the rest of the inhabitants of the island, the Scots and the Picts, Bede calls sometimes Britons, sometimes strangers, and foreigners; and we may observe the same distinction in the Monk of Monmouth, and William of Malmesbury. Wherefore, the Caledonians are never a whit more Brittons, although called Britons by Dion, Martial, Lucan, or any other reputable author; than the Brutuses would be Romans, even although both of them were Italians. Had Lloyd adverted to this, he never would have involved himself in such obscurity, or pronounced so rashly and inconsiderately, upon a subject he did not understand; neither would he have denied that the Caledonians were Picts, because they had been called Britons, by Dion.

XLIII. Nor need Lloyd wonder, although, after the Scots and Picts had inhabited Britain, I will not say for so many years, but for so many ages, that no older writer than Ammianus, Marcellinus, and Claudian, had mentioned them; for setting aside the Welsh, Cambrians, and Leogri, names but lately known in the world, I would ask him, why, when so many Greeks and Latins have preserved the memory of Grecian affairs, no Greek ever mentions the Grecians, or Roman the Helenæs? Why did the names of those nations, whom I have just mentioned, and whom this Cambro-Briton wishes to represent as ancient, creep in so lately into the British history? If you ask any Englishman of what nation he is, he would never answer, a Saxon, although the Scots, Picts, Irish, and both the Brittons, who inhabit Britain and Gaul, with one consent, call them constantly Saxons; and why do not the ancient Scots, at present, acknowledge the name of Scots? It ought not, therefore, to appear strange to us, if the Roman captives, upon being asked to what nation they belonged, should have replied, one to the Mæataæ, another to the Attacotti, and a third to the Caledonii; or, that they should have retained these names among foreign nations. Nor does it seem impossible, that some names should be better known to historians and foreigners, and others to the natives.

XLIV. Although it be perfectly evident, that the coming of

the Scots and Picts into Britain, was not only earlier than what Lloyd contends for, but, likewise, that it was only a short time after the landing of the Brittons, I will add some other, at least plausible conjectures. The Brigantes, a great and a powerful nation beyond the Humber, inhabiting about Eborac, (York,) possessed the whole breadth of the island between the two seas. These, it is most probable, did not come from the neighbouring country of Gaul, in which there were no Brigantes dwelling, but emigrated from Spain to Ireland, and then passed over from Ireland to the nearest part of Britain. Nor is this inconsistent with the conjectures of Tacitus, respecting the ancient inhabitants of the island. If the Brigantes, then, came from Ireland, they must have been of the Scottish race, as all the rest of the inhabitants of Ireland were. Seneca, likewise, seems to confirm this opinion, in his elegant satire on the death of Claudius, in these words—

Ille Britannos	Ultra noti	Littora ponti,
Et cæruleos	Scuta Brigantes	Dare Romuleis.
Colla catheris	Jussit, et ipsum	Nova Romanæ
Jura Securis	Tremere Oceanum.	

The Britons, far beyond each travelled shore,
 They, too, the blue Scutabrigantes, bore
 Thy chains; and e'en the trembling billows come
 To own thy laws, new Founder of new Rome! *

In these verses, Joseph, the son of Julius Scaliger,† thinks

* The above verses are extracted from a satire written by Seneca, on the deification of the brutal and insane Emperor Claudius, by the base and degenerate Roman senate, A. D. 40. The arguments by which Buchanan supports the adoption of Scoto-Brigantes, appear rational and convincing.

† Both the Scaligers were eminent scholars, but Jortin, vol. ii. p. 147. quoted by Dr. Irving, characterizes the son, whose emendation is here defended, “as the best critic, and the greatest scholar that ever was born.” See some interesting notices of both, in Irving’s elaborate Life of Buchanan. Mr. Pinkerton, however, differs in the interpretation, he says, “The Scuta Brigantes has puzzled the critics, and some absurdly propose to read Scoto. The passage strikes at first, as meaning ‘with blue shields.’ By poetic license, the singular may be used for the plural, and if so, it should be cæruleo scuto; but by the same license, the passage may remain. Virgil has *cætera*

that Scotobrigantes, ought to be read for Scutabrigantes. The learning of that ingenious scholar, his discrimination, his industry in comparing ancient writers, and the acumen with which he elucidates obscure passages, are sufficiently displayed in the works which he has edited. In the present attempt, therefore, to illustrate the affairs of Britain, his opinion was not to be omitted; and I shall briefly state my reasons for coinciding with it. When we read in Cæsar, and other writers, not less eminent for industry than for knowledge, that the Britons were accustomed to paint their bodies with woad; and then in Herodian, that they carried narrow shields—such as Livy ascribes to the Asiatic Gauls—and used no ornament upon their arms, it appears absurd to have mentioned the shields, which were not painted, and omit to notice the bodies which were; for the ancient Britons painted, not as some other nations did by way of ornament, but of a blue colour, in order to render themselves more terrible to their enemies in battle; but how that colour could be terrible on a narrow shield, I do not understand. It is, therefore, more likely that so learned a man, and one so deeply interested in British affairs—who, according to Dion, oppressed the whole island by his usury—wrote Scotobrigantes, in order to distinguish them from the Spanish and Gallo-Brigantes; what strengthens this opinion, is, that he separates the Britons, and the Brigantes, in the same verses, as if different nations; which is also done by some British writers, who make the Humber the boundary of Britain.

XLV. Want of attention to these circumstances, has, I think, deceived Hector Boethius, who, when he read of the Silures, and Brigantes, having been called Scots, on account of their Irish origin, placed them in that part of the Scottish territory, Albium. This error, although it might justly offend others, ought not to have so highly exasperated Lloyd, who is himself guilty of a blunder equally heinous, in sending the Cum-bri—he calls them Cumri—from a small nook of Britain, to

Graius, for quod ad cætera ; so cæruleos scuta, for cæruleos quod ad scuta ; so alia id genus, and other phrases.” Enq. vol. i. p. 41. Yet, Mr. Pinkerton himself, elsewhere denominates Scaliger “a man of the most rigid judgment,” Enq. vol. i. p. 292. so his emendation may remain.

the spoliation of the whole world; for he infers, from a few words common to both, that the Cimbri, and Brittons, were the same nation. The words are Maremarusa, and Trimarchia, respecting which, it is worth while to observe the man's acumen in disputation, and subtlety in inference. This word, Maremarusa, he says, is British, it was once a Cimbric one, and used by no other nation who dwelt near the Baltic sea; but as our countrymen use the same word, and are called by the same name as the other Cimbrians, therefore, he concludes, they are both the same kindred and nation; in this, he assumes falsehood, as truth, and the doubtful, as the certain; for, that both the nations were called Cimbri, is manifestly untrue, Lloyd himself being witness, who calls his countrymen Cambrians, from king Camber, and himself, a Cambro-Briton; and I could also convict him, from the uniform practice of all his fellow-citizens, who do not style themselves Cimbri, but Cumri. As the one is palpably false, so the other is exceedingly doubtful, whether other nations, inhabiting the coast of the Baltic, did not use that word, which he insists was peculiar to the Cimbri alone, especially, when it is evident from Tacitus, that many nations in that quarter of Germany, spoke Gallic, and I have already shown the word to be Gallic. But allowing both of his positions to be true—What then? do they conduct us to the same conclusion? have we never read that the soldiers of Cneius Pompeius, whom he carried with him into Asia, were saluted as brothers, by the Albanese inhabiting Mount Caucasus, on account of the common name of Albans? And, I doubt not, if any of them had observed the languages of both people, they would have found one or two words of similar import in both; they wanted, however, a Lloyd to show, that because there were one or two words the same, in each of the languages, therefore, both the nations were the same. But even he appears conscious that he has drawn a lame, and impotent conclusion, when he adds, that the Cimbri used to be called *Æstiones*, by the Germans. To establish this, he was bound to show, when, and wherefore, the Cimbri were transformed into *Æstiones*, or on the other hand, when the *Æstiones* were transformed into the Cimbri. Neither of these has he done, he only quotes a

certain British History, framed from the Milesian fables of the Gauls, and some old fragment, whence, he, not now an antiquary,* but a collector of fables and fragments, brings forth upon us, a new kingdom, and new nations. This he establishes, with great labour, but very little probability, when he might have easily—unless his good fortune had deserted him—have found out a very obvious reason why the name of Cimbri was bestowed upon the Welsh. Plutarch tells us, it was the name of an occupation, and not a people; and that, in the German language, it was understood to mean robbers. Suidas, too, an eminent Greek grammarian, receives the word in the same sense, and Festus Pompeius, among the Latins, tells us that Cimbri was used by the Gauls, as a synonyme for highwaymen. If we follow the opinion of these writers, it will not be difficult to discover where the Cimbri, whom Lloyd places in Britain, received their name, especially, as their neighbours, the English of the present day, affirm that their avocations do not even yet render them unworthy of the title. Livy, it is true, calls that slave who was sent to murder Marius, in the prison of the Minturenses, a Gaul, and Lucan, a Cimbrian, but no writer, of equal authority, calls him a Briton. If Lloyd had adverted to these things, or chosen to recollect, rather than invent, he would not have been under the necessity of exhausting the military population of Britain, and in one feeble moment, or rather fabled moment, disposing of six hundred thousand youth, and leaving the country almost a desert.

XLVI. It is not necessary to inquire minutely as to what children the Welsh are accustomed to give the names of the Cimbrian kings, although even that circumstance is brought by this man of research, as a proof of their descent; for few of these names, unless I am mistaken, will be found, except among the Latins, Germans, or Syrians. But if any solid argument could be drawn from the proper names of men which are often given carelessly by parents, or ambitiously

* Antiquary. In the text, this is a play upon words, very common with the Latin controversial writers of that day, not altogether consistent with Buchanan's usual good taste. He says, "unde iste non jam, *antiquarius* sed *veteramentarius* vel *scrutarius* et—si ita loqui liceat—*fragmentarius*."

adopted from some history, Lloyd might more easily persuade his countrymen that they are Jews, Romans, or Germans, than Cimbri; or if he could now persuade his people to give names to their children in baptism, drawn from some history or other, he might in a very short time, transform them into any nation that he chose. But concerning the names of the kings of the Cimbri, which he says were usually given to the children, I would willingly ask the man from what oracle he received them, did I not know that he can, at any time, produce "a fragment," to prove whatever he desires. With regard to this Cimbric expedition, I cannot help admiring how, after all the men capable of bearing arms were sent away, in forty years—for that is the whole space between the Cimbrian war, and the coming of C. Julius Cæsar, into Britain—your country of Wales, should so quickly become so wonderfully strong, especially, when in the most flourishing state of the Britons, Maximus having withdrawn a far less number, they never were able to recover, but were reduced into a state of wretched servitude by the Saxons; or how Cæsar, who was old enough to have remembered the Cimbrian war, when he came into Britain, a literary man, and attached to the Marian faction, yet discovered nothing in the course of his inquiries respecting this Cimbric expedition; and lastly, I should be glad to know, whether Lloyd is in jest, or in earnest, when he gravely tells us that their relationship may be inferred from their equal contempt for gold and silver. Here I would like to ask him, whether he would seriously call those Cimbri moderate and contented, who having, I will not say, harassed and spoiled Gaul, and part of Spain, but having wasted, and almost reduced both to a desert, hastened with avidity, to Italy, in quest of richer plunder; stimulated by whose opulence, acquired by robbery, the Helvetians also became robbers, as Strabo mentions, Book 7th. Call you these men, moderate and temperate? And lest the name of Cimbri, should not justly apply to your nation, you wish to make your countrymen emulate those pursuits to which they were addicted, and you yourself step forward as the leader, going through among all nations, to rob them of a little glory. Nor are you content to claim the exploits of the Cimbri, but

by an equally impudent fiction, you contend that the Sicambri were among your ancestors, and, because in the names of both there are a few letters the same, from that relationship of syllables, you invent a national consanguinity.

XLVII. Thence, from the Cimbri, the French and their children's children, will be allied to you, and at last, by a contabature of lies, a bridge will be erected for bringing back these fugitive Brenii, of whom the one, who sacked Rome, preceded the other, who spoiled Delphos, about an hundred years; yet, both are joined by you into one body, that from the living and the dead together, you may create a new monster; as if it had been difficult to prove, by any other means, that the land which gave you birth, was capable of producing such a phenomenon. But, Lloyd says, nobody, except Polydore Virgil, mentions two Brennius's; Lloyd, either thy reason hath forsaken thee, or thou hast never read the Fourth Book of Strabo, where he writes, that the other Brennius who overthrew Delphos, was by some thought to be Prausus. And, not Strabo alone, but every person who believes that Rome was taken by a Brennius, and that, about a hundred years after, Delphos was plundered by a Brennius, make two Brennius's; for both these actions could not have been performed by the same person. But, if we believe the Monkish author of the British History, Brennius, the brother of Belinus, preceded these two Brennii three hundred years, and, if he had marched into Italy, must have fought not with the free people of Rome, but with a king, Numa, or Tullius Hostilius. But, setting aside this, let us see whence this new Dialectitian infers that Brennius was a Briton? From one word, Trimarchia, which word, nevertheless, is common to the Scots and Gauls, as well as to the Welsh. Pausanius, indeed, from whom you make a garbled citation to answer your own purpose, calls Brennius, and his companions, Gauls, and acknowledges that word for Gallic. But thou, such is thy impudence, that against the testimony of all writers, who have written histories in Greek or Latin, thou, unknown to Minerva, and all the Muses, contendest that he was a Briton. I have, perhaps, prosecuted this subject farther than the obscurity of the transactions required, or the blunders and inconsistencies of Lloyd deserved,

not from a desire to blame—which I disown—but that I might check the foolish loquacity of a slanderer, and recal him, from his furious attacks upon almost all other writers, to a sense of some of his own errors. But, to omit others at present, he most scurrilously attacks Hector Boethius, a man distinguished, not only by a knowledge of the liberal arts, beyond the age in which he lived, but endowed with uncommon liberality and courtesy; yet he attacks him for no fault, of which he himself is not far more guilty. Hector places the Brigantes in Galloway, falsely, indeed, nor is it my intention to defend his mistakes; Lloyd brings immense bodies of Cimbri, from a corner of Britain, how properly, let the most unlearned decide. Hector attributes the actions of others against the Romans, to his Scots; Lloyd ascribes the capture of Rome, the wasting of Macedonia, the harassing of Greece, the sacrilegious violation of the most famous oracle upon earth, the rendering Asia tributary to a few wandering ruffians, all most impudently to his Britons. He blames Hector for making, falsely, I confess, Gildo, who raised such commotions in Africa, a Scot, whilst he does not hesitate himself to make the same Gildo, who was in fact a Moor, a Goth. But Gildus, and Gildo, are names somewhat alike! Are they more so than Lloyd, Lydus, and Ludio? Gildus, is in truth, an ancient Scottish name, the clan Macgild, or Macgill, of whose posterity there are still several honourable families, both in Scotland and England. But, as Lloyd has such an unbridled tongue, provided he can only abuse others, he cares very little about what he says, I shall leave him only with this admonition—

Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.

He that is straight, the crooked may deride,
And the white skinned, the Ethiopian scorn!

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK III.

ALTHOUGH I may appear to have proved beyond contradiction, not only what fabulous, but what monstrous absurdities, the writers of British history have transmitted to us respecting our ancestors; and likewise to have shown, by the most indubitable evidence, that the ancient Britons were descended from the Gauls; yet, as I perceive I have to argue with men rather obstinate than ignorant, I have deemed it expedient to adduce some additional authorities, from those writers who stand highest in the esteem of the learned; that I might supply the ingenuous inquirers after truth, with weapons to repel their impudent attacks.

The first in this class of writers, who justly deserves the principal place, on account of the diligence of his inquiries, the accuracy of his information, and the honesty of his details, is CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, who, in *THE COMMENTARIES of the GALLIC WAR, Book V.* thus expresses himself: “The inland parts of Britain are inhabited by those whom fame reports to be natives of the soil. The sea coast is peopled with the Belgians, drawn thither by the love of war and plunder. These last, passing over from different parts, and settling in the country, still retain the names of the several states whence they are descended. The island is well peopled, full of houses built after the manner of the Gauls, and abounds in cattle. They use brass money, and iron rings of a certain weight. The provinces remote from the sea, produce tin, and those upon the coast, iron; but the latter in no great quantity. Their brass is all imported. All kinds of wood grow here, the same as in Gaul, except the fir and beech-tree. They think

it unlawful to feed upon hares, pullets, or geese; yet they breed them up for their diversion and pleasure. The climate is more temperate than in Gaul, and the cold less intense. The island is triangular, one of its sides facing Gaul. The extremity towards Kent, whence is the nearest passage to Gaul, lies eastward; the other stretches south-west; this side extends about five hundred miles. Another side looks toward Spain, westward; over against this lies Ireland, an island esteemed not above half as large as Britain, and separated from it, by an interval equal to that between Britain and Gaul. In this strait lies the isle of Mona, [Man] besides several other lesser islands, of which some write, that in the time of the winter solstice, they have darkness* for thirty days together. We could make out nothing of this upon inquiry; only, we discovered by means of our hour-glasses, that the nights were shorter than in Gaul. The length of this side, is computed at seven hundred miles. The last side faces the north-east, and is fronted by no part of the continent; only, towards one of its extremities, it seems to eye chiefly the German coast. It is thought to extend in length, about eight hundred miles. Thus, the whole island takes in a circuit of two thousand miles. The inhabitants of Kent, which lies wholly on the sea-coast, are the most civilized of all the Britons, and differ but little in their manners from the Gauls. The greater part of those within the country, never sow their lands, but live on flesh and milk, and go clad in skins. All the Britons, in general, paint themselves with woad, which gives a bluish cast to the skin, and makes them look dreadful in battle. They are long-haired, and shave all the rest of the body, except the head and the upper lip. Ten or twelve of them live together, having their wives in common, especially brothers or parents, and children amongst themselves; but the issue is always ascribed to him who first espoused the mother." And a little farther on, he says, "From them [the ambassadors of the Cenimagni Segontiaci, &c.] he [Cæsar] had intelligence, that he was not far from the capital of Cassibelanus, which was situate amidst woods and marshes, and whither great num-

* Duncan, in translating this passage says, they have *nights* for 30 *days* together.

bers of men and cattle were retired. A town among the Britons, is nothing more than a thick wood, fortified with a ditch and rampart, to serve as a place of retreat, against the incursions of their enemies. Thither he marched with his legions; and, though the place appeared to be extremely strong, both by art and nature, he nevertheless, resolved to attack it in two several quarters. The enemy, after a short stand, were obliged at last to give way, and retire by another part of the wood. Vast numbers of cattle were found in the place, and many of the Britons were either made prisoners, or lost their lives in the pursuit."

TACITUS, in *The Life of JULIUS AGRICOLA*, ch. x. "If I here presume to offer a description of Britain, and the manners of the people, it is not my intention to dispute with a number of authors, who have gone before me, either the fame of genius, or diligence in the research. The fact is, Britain was subdued under the conduct of Agricola, and that circumstance may justify the present attempt. Antecedent writers adorned conjecture with all the graces of language; what I have to offer, will have nothing but plain truth to recommend it.

"Britain, of all the islands known to the Romans, is the largest. On the east, it extends towards Germany; on the west, towards Spain; and on the south, it lies opposite to the coast of Gaul. The northern extremity is lashed by the billows of a prodigious sea, and no land is known beyond it. The form of the island has been compared by two eloquent writers—Livy, among the ancients, and Fabius Rusticus, among the moderns—to an oblong shield, or a two edged axe. The comparison, if we except Caledonia, may be allowed to be just, and hence the shape of a part has been, by vulgar error, ascribed to the whole. Caledonia stretches a vast length of way towards the north. The promontories, that jut out into the sea, render the form of the country broken and irregular, but it sharpens to a point at the extremity, and terminates in the shape of a wedge.

"By Agricola's, order, the Roman fleet sailed round the northern point, and made the first certain discovery that Britain is an island. The cluster of isles called the Orcades, till then wholly unknown, was in this expedition added to the

Roman empire. Thule, which had lain concealed in the gloom of winter, and a depth of eternal snows, was also seen by our navigators. The sea in those parts is said to be a sluggish mass of stagnated water, hardly yielding to the stroke of the oar, and never agitated by winds and tempests. The natural cause may be, that high lands and mountains, which occasion commotions in the air, are deficient in those regions; not to mention that such a prodigious body of water, in a vast and boundless ocean, is heaved and impelled with difficulty. But a philosophical account of the ocean and its periodical motions is not the design of this essay; the subject has employed the pen of others. To what they have said I shall add, that there is not in any other part of the world an expanse of water that rages with such uncontrolled dominion, now receiving the discharge of various rivers, and, at times, driving their currents back to their source. Nor is it on the coast only, that the flux and reflux of the tide are perceived; the swell of the sea forces its way into the recesses of the land, forming bays and islands in the heart of the country, and foaming amidst hills and mountains, as in its own natural channel.

“ XI. Whether the first inhabitants of Britain were natives of the island, or adventitious settlers, is a question lost in the mists of antiquity. The Britons, like other barbarous nations, have no monuments of their history. They differ in the make and habit of their bodies, and hence various inferences concerning their origin. The ruddy hair and lusty limbs of the Caledonians, indicate a German extraction. That the Silures were at first a colony of Iberians is concluded, not without probability, from the olive tincture of the skin, the natural curl of the hair, and the situation of the country, so convenient to the coast of Spain. On the side opposite to Gaul, the inhabitants resemble their neighbours on the continent; but whether that resemblance be the effect of one common origin, or of the climate in contiguous nations operating on the make and temperament of the human body, is a point not easy to be decided. All circumstances considered, it is rather probable, that a colony from Gaul took possession of a country so inviting from its proximity. You will find in both nations the same religious rites, and also the same super-

stition. The two languages differ but little. In provoking danger they discover the same ferocity, and in the encounter, the same timidity. The Britons, however, not yet enfeebled by a long peace, are possessed of superior courage. The Gauls, we learn from history, were formerly a warlike people; but sloth, the consequence of inactive times, has debased their genius, and virtue has died with expiring liberty. Among such of the Britons as have been for some time subdued, the same degeneracy is observable. The free and unconquered part of the nation, retains at this hour the ferocity of the ancient Gauls.

“XII. The strength of their armies consists in infantry, though some of their warriors take the field in chariots. The person of highest distinction guides the reins, while his martial followers, mounted in the same vehicle, annoy the enemy. The Britons were formerly governed by a race of kings; at present they are divided into factions under various chieftains; and this disunion, which prevents their acting in concert for a public interest, is a circumstance highly favourable to the Roman arms against a warlike people, independent, fierce, and obstinate. A confederation of two or more states to repel the common danger, is seldom known; they fight in parties, and the nation is subdued.

“The climate is unfavourable; always damp with rains, and overcast with clouds. Intense cold is never felt. The days are longer than in our southern regions; the nights remarkably bright, and, towards the extremity of the island, so very short, that between the last gleam of day, and the returning dawn, the interval is scarcely perceptible. In a serene sky, when no clouds intervene to obstruct the sight, the sun, we are told, appears all night long, neither setting in the west, nor rising in the east, but always moving above the horizon. The cause of this phenomenon may be, that the surface of the earth, towards the northern extremities, being flat and level, the shade never rises to any considerable height, and the sky still retaining the rays of the sun, the heavenly bodies continue visible.

“The soil does not afford either the vine, the olive, or the fruits of warmer climates; but it is otherwise fertile, and yields corn in great plenty. Vegetation is quick in shooting

up, and slow in coming to maturity. Both effects are reducible to the same cause, the constant moisture of the atmosphere, and the dampness of the soil. Britain contains, to reward the conqueror, neither mines of gold, silver, nor other metals. The sea produces pearls, but of a dark and livid colour. This defect is ascribed by some, to want of skill in this kind of fishery; the people employed in gathering, content themselves with gleaning what happens to be thrown upon the shore, whereas in the Red Sea, the shell-fish are found clinging to the rocks, and taken alive. For my part, I am inclined to think that the British pearl is of an inferior quality. I cannot impute to avarice, a neglect of its interest.

“XIII. The Britons are willing to supply our armies with new levies; they pay their tribute without a murmur; and they perform all the services of government with alacrity, provided they have no reason to complain of oppression. When injured, their resentment is quick, sudden, and impatient; they are conquered, not broken-hearted; reduced to obedience, not subdued to slavery. Even Julius Cæsar, the first of the Romans who set his foot in Britain at the head of an army, can only be said, by a prosperous battle, to have struck the natives with terror, and to have made himself master of the sea shore. The discoverer, not the conqueror of the island, he did no more than show it to posterity. Rome could not boast of a conquest. The civil wars broke out soon after, and, in that scene of distraction, when the swords of the leading men were drawn against their country, it was natural to lose sight of Britain. During the peace that followed, the same neglect continued; Augustus called it the wisdom of his councils, and Tiberius made it a rule of state policy.

“That Caligula meditated an invasion of Britain is a fact well known; but the expedition, like his mighty preparations against Germany, was rendered abortive by the capricious temper of the man, resolving always without consideration, and repenting without experiment. The grand enterprise was reserved for the emperor Claudius, who transported into Britain, an army composed of regular legions, besides a large body of auxiliaries. With the officers appointed to conduct the war, he joined Vespasian, who there laid the foundation

of that success which afterwards attended him. Several states were conquered, kings were led in captivity, and the Fates beheld Vespasian giving an earnest of his future glory.

“ XIV. The first officer of consular rank, who commanded in Britain, was Aulus Plautius. To him succeeded Ostorius Scapulla; both eminent for their military character. Under their auspices, the southern part of Britain took the form of a province, and received a colony of veterans. Certain districts were assigned to Cogidunus, a king, who reigned over part of the country. He lived within our own memory, preserving always his faith unviolated, and exhibiting a striking proof of that refined policy, with which it has ever been the practice of Rome to make even kings accomplices in the servitude of mankind.

“ The next governor was Didius Gallus. He preserved the acquisitions made by his predecessors, without aiming at an extension of territory, and without any advantage, except a few forts, which he built on the remote borders of the province, in hopes of gaining some pretensions to the fame of having enlarged the frontier. Veranius succeeded to the command, but died within the year. Suetonius Paulinus was the next in succession. That officer pushed on the war in one continued series of prosperity, for two years together. In that time, he subdued several states, and secured his conquests by a chain of posts and garrisons. Confiding in the strength, which he had thus established, he formed the plan of reducing the isle of Mona, * the grand resource from which the malecontents drew their supplies. But having in that expedition, turned his back on the conquered provinces, he gave an opportunity for a general revolt.

“ xv. The Britons, relieved from their fears by the absence of the commander-in-chief, began to descant on the horrors of slavery. They stated their grievances, and, to inflame their resentment, painted every thing in the most glaring colours. ‘ What was now the consequence of their passive spirit? The hand of oppression falls on the tame and abject with greater weight. Each state was formerly subject to a single king, but

* Anglesey.

now two masters rule with an iron-rod. The general gluts himself with the blood of the vanquished, and the imperial procurator devours our property. Those haughty tyrants may act in concert, or they may be at variance; but in either case the lot of the Britons is the same. The centurions of the general, and the followers of the tax-gatherer add pride and insolence, to injustice and oppression. Nothing is safe from avarice, nothing by lust unviolated. In the field of battle, the booty is for the brave and warlike; at present, cowards and abject wretches seize the possessions of the natives; to them the Britons tamely yield up their children; for them they make new levies; and, in short, the good of his country is the only cause in which a Briton has forgot to die. Compute the number of men, born in freedom, who inhabit the island, and the Roman invaders are but a handful. It was thus the Germans argued, and they shook off the yoke. No ocean rolled between them and the invader; they were separated by a river only. The Britons have every motive to excite their valour. They have their country to defend, and they have their liberty to assert; they have wives and children to urge them on; and they have parents who sue to them for protection. On the part of the Romans, if we except luxury and avarice, what incentives are there to draw them to the field? Let British valour emulate the virtue of ancient times, and the invaders, like their own deified Cæsar, will abandon the island. The loss of a single battle, and even of a second, cannot decide the fate of a whole people. Many advantages list on the side of misery. To attack with fury, and persevere with constancy, belongs to men who groan under oppression. The gods, at length, behold the Britons with an eye of compassion; they have removed the Roman general from his station; they detain him and his army, in another island. The oppressed have gained an advantage, too often difficult to obtain; they can now deliberate, they are met in council. In designs like these, the whole danger lies in being detected; act like men, and success will be the issue of the war.'

“XVI. Inflamed by these and such like topics, the spirit of revolt was diffused through the country; with one consent they took up arms, under the conduct of Boadicea, a queen

descended from a race of royal ancestors. In Britain there is no rule of distinction to exclude the female line from the throne, or the command of armies. The insurgents rushed to the attack with headlong fury, they found the Romans dispersed in their garrisons; they put all to the sword; they stormed the forts; they attacked the capital of the colony, which they considered as the seat of oppression, and with fire and sword, laid it level with the ground. Whatever revenge could prompt, or victory inspire, was executed with unrelenting cruelty; and if Suetonius, on the first intelligence, had not hastened back by rapid marches, Britain had been lost. By the event of a single battle, the province was recovered, though the embers of rebellion were not quite extinguished. Numbers of the malecontents, conscious of their share in the revolt, and dreading the vengeance of Suetonius, still continued under arms.

“ The truth is, notwithstanding the excellent qualities that distinguished the Roman general, it was the blemish of his character, that he proceeded always against the vanquished, even after they surrendered, with excessive rigour. Justice, under his administration, had frequently the air of revenge for a personal injury. In his public proceedings, he mingled too much of his own passions, and was therefore recalled, to make way for Petronius Turpilianus, a man of less asperity, new to the Britons, and, having no resentments, likely to be satisfied on moderate terms. He restored the tranquillity of the island, and, without attempting any thing farther, resigned the province to Trebellius Maximus, an officer of no experience, by nature indolent and inactive, but possessed of certain popular arts, that reconciled the minds of men to his administration. The barbarians, at this time, had acquired a taste for elegant and alluring vices. The civil wars, which soon afterwards convulsed the empire, were a fair apology for the pacific temper of the general. His army, however, was not free from intestine discord. The soldiers, formerly inured to discipline, grew wanton in idleness, and broke out into open sedition. To avoid the fury of his men, Trebellius was obliged to save himself by flight. Having lain for some time in a place of concealment, he returned with an awkward air,

to take upon him the command. His dignity was impaired, and his spirit humbled. From that time, his authority was feeble and precarious. It seemed to be a compromise between the parties: the general remained unmolested, the soldiers uncontrolled, and on those terms the mutiny ended without bloodshed. Vectius Bolanus was the next commander; but the distractions of the civil war still continuing, he did not think it advisable to introduce a plan of regular discipline. The same inactive disposition on the part of the general, and the same mutinous spirit among the soldiers still prevailed. The only difference was, that the character of Bolanus was without a blemish. If he did not establish his authority, he lived on good terms with all; beloved, though not respected.

“XVII. When Britain, with the rest of the Roman world, fell to the lot of Vespasian, the ablest officers were sent to reduce the island; powerful armies were set in motion, and the spirit of the natives began to droop. In order to spread a general terror, Petilius Cerealis fell with sudden fury on the Brigantes, in point of numbers, the most considerable state in the whole province. Various battles were fought, with alternate success, and great effusion of blood. At length, the greatest part of that extensive country was either subdued, or involved in all the calamities of war. The fame of Cerealis grew to a size that might discourage the ablest successor; and yet under that disadvantage, Julius Frontinus undertook the command. His talents did not suffer by the comparison. He was a man truly great, and sure to signalize himself whenever a fair opportunity called forth his abilities. He reduced to subjection the powerful and warlike state of the Silures; and, though in that expedition he had to cope not only with a fierce and obstinate enemy, but with the difficulties of a country almost impracticable, yet it was his glory, that he surmounted every obstacle.”

CICERO to TRIBATIUS, in the FAMILIAR EPISTLES, *Book VII.* “I hear in Britain there is neither gold nor silver, if it be so, I advise you to take whatever you can lay hold on, and return to us as quickly as possible; but if what we wish may be attained without going to Britain, hasten back to increase the number of my familiar friends.”

PAULUS OROSIUS *speaking of IRELAND*, says—"This island is nearer Britain, somewhat smaller, but more agreeable both in the temperature of the climate, and fertility of the soil. It is inhabited by the Scots. Next to it is the island of Mona, [Man] not very little, of a good soil, and also inhabited by the Scots."

FROM THE SAME WRITER. "The conqueror Severus, being drawn into Britain by the defection of almost all his allies, when he had fought many severe battles, thought to separate the subdued from the unconquered part of the island, by a wall; for which purpose he dug a deep trench, and erected a thick wall, which he fortified with strong towers stretching, from sea to sea, one hundred and thirty-two miles."

Ado, archbishop of Vienna, gives the same account, nearly verbatim. A mistake in both may be corrected, by reading thirty-two, for one hundred and thirty-two miles.

FROM SOLINUS, *Chap. XXV*. "It [Britain] is surrounded by many considerable islands, of which Ireland approaches nearest to it in magnitude. It is inhospitable on account of the cruel customs of its inhabitants; but its fertility is so exuberant, that unless the herds were sometimes, in summer, driven away from the pastures, they would be greatly in danger of suffering from repletion. There are no serpents there, and not many birds; the natives are savage and warlike. After battle, the victors stain their faces with the blood of their slaughtered enemies. They make no distinction between right and wrong. If a woman be delivered of a man-child, his first food is placed upon the sword of her husband, and gently put into his little mouth, with the point of the weapon, while the mother offers up her vows, that he may not meet death, but in war, and in arms. Those who study elegance, ornament the hilts of their swords with the teeth of sea-calves, which they polish as white as ivory, for the principal glory of the men, consists in the brilliance of their armour. They have no bees, and even dust or little stones brought thence, if scattered among bee-hives, will make the swarms forsake their combs. The sea which divides Ireland and Britain, is boisterous and stormy the greater part of the year, and is not passable, except during a few days in summer. The natives

navigate it in osier vessels, which they bind round with the hides of oxen, and during their passage, however long, the sailors abstain from all food. Those who have examined the strait, estimate its width, at a hundred and twenty miles. A tempestuous frith divides the islands of the Silures, from that part of the British coast, which the Dumnotii inhabit, the people of which, preserve their ancient manners even to this day. They have neither markets nor money, but give and receive in kind, choosing rather to obtain necessities by exchange, than to procure riches. They worship the gods, and men and women boast of their skill in foretelling future events. The isle of Thanet is washed by the Gallic strait, and separated from the continent of Britain, by a narrow channel; it is rich in corn fields, and a luxuriant glebe. Nor is the soil salutary to themselves alone, but is so when removed into other places; for as no snake can exist there, so the earth, into whatever country it is carried, kills the serpents."

FROM HERODIAN, *translated by* POLITIAN, *Book III.* "But Severus, industriously contriving delays, that he should not return to Rome without accomplishing something, desirous of victory, and of the surname of Britannicus, before the business was completed, sent his ambassadors home, while he, himself, prepared with the greatest activity for war. In the first place, however, he took care to cover the marshes with bridges, that his soldiers might stand securely, and fight on solid ground; for many places in Britain, are rendered swampy by the frequent inundations of the ocean; and through these marshes, the barbarians, themselves, swim or wade, sunk to the bellies in mud, and frequently naked, regardless of the slime, for they are ignorant of the use of clothes, but encircle their belly and neck with iron, thinking this an ornament, and a proof of riches, in the same manner as gold is with other barbarians; besides, they mark their bodies with various pictures, and the forms of a variety of animals, on which account, they do not clothe themselves, lest they should cover the painting of their bodies; but they are a most warlike race, and rejoice in slaughter. Their arms consist of a narrow shield and lance, with a sword hanging by their naked bodies. They are almost entirely unacquainted with the use of a coat of mail, or a helmet,

thinking these impediments in passing through the marshes always covered with vapours, and dark with exhalations."

FROM AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *Book XX*. "This was the state of affairs in Illyricum, and the east. But, in the tenth consulship of Constantius, and the third of Julian, when peace was interrupted in Britain, by the incursions of the savage nations of the Scots and Picts, who laid waste the places situate in their vicinity, and spread terror through the provinces, wearied with the number of past slaughters, Cæsar, who was passing the winter at Paris, distracted with a variety of cares, was afraid to go to the assistance of those beyond seas, as we have mentioned that Constantine did before, lest he should leave the Gauls without a governor, exposed at a time when the Alemanni were already excited to outrage and war. He, therefore, sent Lupicinus, into these quarters, to settle the disturbances, at that time a skilful and warlike general, but supercilious, and affecting the tragic strut, as it is termed; besides which, it was doubtful whether he were more avaricious, or cruel. Wherefore, having put his chosen auxiliaries in motion, the Heruli, and the Batavians, and many of the Moœsici, in the midst of winter, the general came to Boulogne, where, having embarked his soldiers, he took advantage of the first favourable wind, and set sail for the Kentish coast, and proceeded to London, that, thence, he might advise, and be ready to act upon any emergency."

FROM THE SAME, *Book XXVI*. "The Picts, Saxons, Sccts, and Attacotti, tormented the Britons with continual misfortunes."

FROM THE SAME, *Book XXVII*. "It may, however, suffice to say, that, at that time, the Picts, divided into two nations, Dicaledonians, and Vecturiones, and, likewise, the Attacotti, a very warlike people, and the Scots, spread over different quarters, and committed great devastation. The Franks, and Saxons, ravaged the coasts of Gaul, and the neighbouring countries, making eruptions wherever they could, by sea or land; plundering, burning, and murdering those whom they took captive. In order to prevent these disasters, as soon as his good fortune enabled him, this active leader, making for the extremity of the world, when he came to the coast of

Boulogne, which is separated from the disturbed country, by a narrow strait, where the sea ebbs and flows, frequently rising into tremendous waves, and again, without any detriment to the sailors, residing into a species of plain; thence, passing easily through a narrow strait, he reached Rutipeas, a safe harbour on the opposite coast; whence, when the Batavians, who followed, had arrived, together with Erutuli, Jovii, and Victores, confident in the strength of numbers, he marched forward towards the town, formerly London, now called Augusta; and, having divided his bands in many different directions, he attacked the predatory bands of the enemy, scattered, and heavy laden with plunder, and having quickly routed them, he rescued the captives they were driving bound before them, and the flocks and the spoil which the wretched tributaries had lost; and having restored the whole, except a small portion with which he rewarded his weary soldiers, he re-entered the city, lately overwhelmed with distress, but suddenly, and beyond expectation, restored to safety, in a kind of triumph. Elated with such prosperous achievements, he meditated still greater; but, in diligently inquiring after the safest measures, he delayed those which were doubtful, to a future period; for he understood, both from captives and deserters, that the immense crowd of various nations, widely scattered, and amazingly ferocious, would never be subdued except by stratagem, or surprise. He then recalled by edicts promising pardon, all the deserters, and offered free passports to all the stragglers; wherefore, when he perceived, that by these means, many were induced to return, he anxiously desired Civilis to be sent to him, as governor of Britain, a man of quick genius, but upright, and inflexibly just; and at the same time, Dulcitius, a commander well skilled in military affairs."

FROM DION, *Book XXXIX*. "Cæsar, the first of the Romans who crossed the Rhine, afterwards, in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, passed over into Britain. This island lies 450 stadia at least, beyond the Morini; it extends beyond the remaining part of Gaul, and almost the whole of Spain, stretching out into the sea, and was unknown to the most ancient of the Greeks and Romans, and their posterity even doubted whether it were a continent, or an island; and many

ignorant persons, who had neither seen it themselves, nor had any information from the inhabitants, but followed their own conjectures, have, as they were influenced by laziness or humour, called it in their writings, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other; but afterwards, first during the command of Agricola, and next in the reign of the emperor Severus, it was clearly discovered to be an island. Thither, therefore, Cæsar, when he had settled the rest of his affairs in Gaul, and subdued the Morini, desired to pass over, and had transported his foot where it was most convenient, but did not land where he ought to have done. For all the Britons, having heard of the fame of his coming, had preoccupied all the passes of the continent, but having sailed round a projecting rock, he disembarked elsewhere, and having overcome those who first opposed his descent, he landed his men, and made himself master of the shore, before many of the enemy could assail him, and he afterwards repulsed those who came to their assistance. But there were not many of the barbarians slain, for they fought on horseback, and in chariots, and easily eluded the Romans, who had not yet any cavalry; but being astonished at the reports which they had heard from the continent, and because they had dared to transport themselves thither, and land among them, they sent upon an embassy to Cæsar, some of their friends from the nation of the Morini. At first they promised the hostages which he required; but when the Roman naval forces, both those which had arrived, and those which were coming, were shattered by a tempest, they changed their opinion, yet, however, they did not attack them openly—for they kept their camp constantly well guarded—but having surprised some who were come in a peaceable manner, to purchase provisions, they put almost the whole of them to the sword—the others being quickly relieved by Cæsar—and immediately made an impetuous attack upon the camp, but were shamefully driven back, without being able to effect any thing. They were not, however, reduced to accept of terms, until they had been often worsted, nor was Cæsar, on the other hand, very much disinclined to make peace with them, for the winter approached, nor had he a sufficient number of men for carrying on the war, those whom

he had brought with him being diminished, and, besides, the Gauls, during his absence, having begun to rebel, he not unwillingly concluded a peace with them, having demanded many hostages, and received but a few; and he returned to the continent, where he quelled the insurrection, having accomplished neither public nor private advantage by his operations in Britain, except that he appeared to have carried the war thither; on which account he greatly congratulated himself, and was wonderfully applauded by his friends, when they saw what had formerly been unknown, brought into light, and what had not formerly been heard of, even by report, now laid open to them, they embraced the hope of what would arise thence, as if it were already in their possession, and considering these visions of hope, as objects accomplished, they decreed twenty days' thanksgiving on account of them."

FROM BEDE, *Book I. Chap. I.* "In the languages of five nations, the knowledge of the same highest wisdom, and truest sublimity, is sought out and confessed—in those of the English, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins—which by meditation upon the Scriptures, is made common to all the others. At first the island was inhabited by the Britons alone, from whom it received its appellation, who, having come to Britain from the country of the Armorici, appropriated to themselves the southern parts. And when they had possessed a considerable portion of the island, beginning from the south, it happened that the nation of the Picts, from Scythia, as is reported, venturing into the ocean with a few large ships, driven by the force of the winds, beyond the confines of all Britain, arrived in Ireland, and landed upon the northern coasts, where, having found the race of the Scots, they desired likewise to obtain settlements for themselves, but could not accomplish it."

FROM THE SAME, *Book I. Chap. V.* "Severus, an African, born at the town of Leptis, near Tripoli, the fourteenth from Augustus Cæsar, having obtained the empire, reigned seventeen years. He was severe by nature, and constantly harassed by many wars. He governed the republic bravely, but rigorously. Being victorious in the civil wars, the most grievous which had occurred, he was drawn over into Britain

by the defection of almost all the allies, where, having restored his ascendancy by many severe battles, he endeavoured to separate the recovered part of the island, from the unconquered nations, not by a wall, as some imagine, but by a rampart; for a wall is built of stones, but a rampart, by which camps are fortified for repelling the attack of an enemy, is made of the sods which are dug out of the earth, and raised high above each other as a wall, the place out of which the sods are dug forming a trench in front, above which are fixed strong pallisades of wood. Severus, having thus dug a deep ditch, and erected a firm rampart, fortified with many strong towers, extending from sea to sea, died of a disease at York."

FROM THE SAME, *Book I. Chap. XII.* "Afterward, Britain being wholly deprived of her armed militia, and every kind of military force, and the flower of her youth, drawn from her by the temerity of tyrants, never returning home, laid the country open to depredation, as all who remained were entirely ignorant of warfare. They were then suddenly assailed by two cruelly savage transmarine nations, the Scots, blown thither by the vehement south wind, and the Picts, by the bitter north, under whom they groaned for years. We call these nations transmarine, not because they did not belong to Britain, but because they came from a remote part of the country, cut off from the rest by two arms of the sea, of which the one rushing from the eastern ocean, and the other from the western, penetrate far into the land, although they do not actually meet each other. The eastern branch has the city of Guidi in the midst of it. Considerably up the western, on the right bank, stands Alcluith, which word, in their language, signifies the Rock of Cluith; being situated near the river of that name.* On account of the incursions of these nations, when the Britons sent ambassadors to Rome, with lamentable epistles, praying for assistance, promising perpetual submission, if they would only drive away these neighbouring enemies, a veteran legion was immediately despatched to their assistance, who, when they arrived in the island, engaged these enemies, and having

* Clyde.

defeated them with great slaughter, expelled them from the boundaries of their allies; who being thus delivered from their most direful distress, were advised to build a wall across the island, between the two seas, to protect them against the attacks of their enemies; after which the Romans returned home in great triumph. But the wall of the islanders, which they had been ordered to build, being constructed, not of stones but sods, for they had no artificers skilled in such work, was of no service. They made it, however, between the two friths, of which we have spoken, for many miles, that where they wanted the defence of the water, the rampart might be their protection against the irruptions of the enemy, of which work, that is of the highest rampart, evident vestiges may be discovered, even at this day. It begins about two miles west from the monastery of Aebercurnig, which, is a place called, in the Picts' language, Peanfahel, but in the English, Pennelt, and stretching towards the west, terminates near the city of Alcluith. But their ancient enemies beyond the wall, as soon as they perceived the Roman soldiers had departed, transported in ships, broke the boundaries, spreading slaughter on every side, and treading down the inhabitants, as corn ripe for the sickle. Again they sent an embassy to Rome, imploring assistance with the most lamentable expressions, lest their miserable country should be wholly destroyed; and lest the name of a Roman province, for which they had been so long illustrious, overthrown by the attack of foreign nations, should now be rendered contemptible. A legion being again sent, and coming unexpectedly about the autumnal season, inflicted great slaughter upon their enemies, and forced those who escaped, and who had been accustomed annually to drive their captives as sheep beyond seas, themselves to seek refuge behind the friths. The Romans then told the Britons that they could not come so far, and fatigue themselves with expensive expeditions for their defence, and advised them rather to seize arms themselves, and endeavour to overcome their enemies in fighting, for if they would rouse from their inactivity, they might be able to cope with them. They thought, however, it would be advantageous to the allies, whom they meditated to leave, to erect a wall of firm stone, in a straight line from

sea to sea, between the cities which had been erected for terror of the enemy, and where the rampart of Severus had been raised, which they, accordingly, being joined by a band of Britons, and aided by public and private money, built eight feet broad, and twelve in height, in a right line from east to west, as may be seen, high and conspicuous, even at this day, which when they had finished, they gave strong exhortations to the people, and afforded them examples for their instruction in the use of arms. But on the shores of the ocean, towards the south where their ships were kept, and because they feared the incursions of the barbarians from thence, they placed towers at intervals, looking over the sea, and then took leave of their allies, as if they never intended to return."

FROM THE SAME, *a little after*. "What need I say more, the cities and the wall deserted, they fly and are dispersed, the enemy follows, and the carnage is increased with far greater cruelty than before; for as lambs by wild beasts, so are the wretched citizens torn by their enemies, and, thrust out from their dwellings and possessions, they avert the danger of immediate starvation, by robbery and mutual plunder, increasing the external murders by their domestic dissensions, until almost the whole country being exhausted of provisions, no sustenance could be obtained but by hunting."

FROM THE EPISTLE OF GILDAS. "Whom he ordered to construct a wall, that it might be a terror to the attacking enemies, and a safeguard to the citizens."

FROM THE SAME, *a little after*. "Wherefore, again, the remaining wretches sent epistles to a man of great power at Rome, running thus, 'To Ætius, thrice consul, the groans of the Britons;' and a little after, complaining, 'The barbarians drive us to the sea, and the sea drives us back to the barbarians, leaving us, only, the choice of being put to the sword, or drowned: nor have we any defence against either.'"

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book IV.

I. **H**AVING undertaken to write the history of our nation, * in order to make the narrative more plain, I have, in the former books, traced back our ancestry, endeavouring, in my researches, to keep as free as possible from fable, and from

* Every nation has had its fabulous, and its obscure and doubtful ages, and it would, indeed, have been miraculous had Scotland formed an exception. The earliest periods of Greece and Rome, were filled with fables, as monstrous as any that ever found admission into the tales of the senachies; these passed into song, and embellished by genius, have been the delight and admiration of every age, though they have long since ceased to be considered as historical authorities. To the fabulous, succeeded the obscure and doubtful, when the first annalists arose, who, collecting the traditions and reports of their countrymen, methodised and transmitted their stories to their successors; and on such traditions, do the foundations of almost every nation's history rest, for the first two or three centuries after it became a nation, unless conquest have illustrated its origin. And last, arose historians, who, living in times of comparative civilization, delivered over the first period of history to the poets; compared and sifted the second, committed it to writing, and were themselves the authors of the third, the only certain records to which we can with confidence refer. Buchanan, with a master's hand, has brushed away, in his two first books, the absurdities which deformed our primitive legends, and which threatened to invade the limits of legitimate history; a task, in his day, of no easy labour, however lightly it may be deemed of now. In the obscure period of our history, Scotland has been peculiarly unfortunate; for, however it may excite a smile, I cannot refuse my belief to the assertion that Edward the First did carry away a number of valuable records pertaining to that period, the loss of which is irretrievable. But supposing, as later writers have done, that this were not the case, it cannot be denied that Cromwell swept the country of whatever documents he thought of value, and thus deprived us of access to a number of original papers, which Buchanan undoubtedly perused, and which might have illustrated this portion of our

what was at variance with ancient writers. I now commence with the universal report, which is confirmed by a number of proofs, that a colony of Spaniards, either driven from home by their more powerful neighbours, or emigrating voluntarily

history, or at least might have enabled us to examine it with far different facilities than what we now possess. Take one example, from what is considered the ascertained portion of our history, and thence judge of the obscure, the siege of Berwick, during the reign of Edward III. Book ix. ch. 13, 14. It is there said, that the governor of Berwick's name was Alexander Seton, and that he had two sons, one of whom was given as an hostage to Edward III. and the other who was a prisoner, were both hanged by him, in violation of articles of agreement. In Hailes' Annals, Appendix, No. 3. his lordship says, "Our genealogical writers have given a fair pedigree of the family of Seton, in the fourteenth century;" which he inserts with a remark, "this pedigree, however, will not stand the test of historical criticism." Then follows the criticism, which closes with, "All this is matter of figures, and the reader is entreated to attend to the calculation, and observe its consequences," which, "viewed in the most favourable light, are inconsistent with all the probabilities of moral evidence;" and, as it regards the fact to which I refer, he adds, "If we adhere to the first part of the story, the tragical event of Alexander Seton's grandsons, the young Setons put to death, at Berwick, in 1333, is annihilated, and it must be admitted to have been wholly a fable;" and, to reconcile the name of the governor with the fact, he is obliged to have recourse to a suppositious hypothesis. In No. 5. of the same Appendix, the case is stated thus, "Fordun relates, that the besieged in Berwick, obtained a truce from Edward III. and became bound to deliver up the town, unless relieved within a time limited; that for the faithful execution of this treaty, Thomas, the son and heir of Alexander Seton, governor of the town, was given as an hostage, that after the lapse of the time limited, Edward required those in Berwick to surrender, and on their refusal hanged Thomas Seton on a gibbet before the gates, in sight of both his parents. Boece, and his imitator, Buchanan, improve on the simple narrative of Fordun, &c." "In none of the English historians hitherto published, is there any mention made of this cruel incident; and, hence, the modern historians of that nation, are generally inclined to consider it as a tale absolutely fabulous. Tyrrel, however, has drawn up a narrative from the Chronicle of Lanercost, and the treatise called *Scala Chronica*, both in MSS. which greatly favours the accounts given by Fordun. What he says, when divested of embarrassed expressions, pleonasms, and tautology, amounts to this, 'the besieged obtained a truce for fifteen days and became bound to surrender, if not relieved within that term: for this, there were given twelve hostages, and among them, the son of Sir Alexander Seton, the governor. After the lapse of the term, Edward required the governor to surrender, but he refused; then, Edward, by advice of his council, commanded young Seton to be hanged in sight of his father.' " "To the story as related by Fordun, and in Tyrrel, there lies a capital objection,

with their superabundant progeny, transported themselves into Ireland, and took possession of the coasts of that island which lay nearest to them. Next, as the salubrity of the climate, and the richness of the pasturage were inviting, by degrees,

which, since the publication of the *Foedera*, is obvious to every one, namely, that Alexander Seton, is said to have been governor of the town of Berwick, in July, 1333; whereas, it is certain, from record, that Sir William Keith held that office, and, in the character of governor of the town of Berwick, entered into a negotiation with Edward III." Annal. vol. ii. Edit. 1819 Here, the arguments of facts and of figures, of records and of calculations, are irresistible, and the conclusion inevitable, that it was impossible any such event could take place, and, therefore, the Scottish historians are fabulists, and the story an invention. But an examination of the unpublished MSS. extant in England, led to a very different conclusion. "As to the MS. authorities of the *Chronicle of Lanercost*," Hailes observes a little after, "I can say nothing, never having been able to discover in what library it is preserved. With respect to the *Scala Chronica*, I have been more fortunate, having obtained a copy of what it contains with respect to the siege of Berwick, in 1333;"* and then follows the passage in French, with a translation; from which, it appears, that a party of Scots, among whom was Sir William Keith, had thrown themselves into Berwick; that Sir Alexander Seton, in consequence, according to the strict letter of the treaty, considered Berwick as relieved, and refused to deliver up the town, that his son was hanged by Edward, and that towards the end of the siege, Sir William Keith assumed the governorship. This, I think, is a case which is as strong as can possibly be made out, in which our Scottish historians had their characters involved, almost beyond redemption, had it not been for the discovery of MSS. in England. Now, the question is, Where did they get the truth? Certainly not, as Mr. Pinkerton phrases it, by special revelation; but from records, to which they had access, and which are not now in existence, at least, in Scotland. If, then, this discrepancy, as to a matter of fact in late times, existed among modern writers, which the discovery of an obscure MS. so easily reconciled, and what seemed proved incontrovertibly false, turned out to be in every material point, true; we ought to pronounce with caution, upon that portion of our history, which is confessedly obscure; but, which, from the integrity of the man, we may be satisfied, Buchanan, did not fabricate; and, from his acuteness, we may be assured, if fictitious, carried with it more plausibility than the majority of fictitious narratives usually do. Nor ought we to say, that records did not exist, because we know nothing about them. Had archbishop Parker lost the *Scala Chronica*, which might easily have happened, who could have proved that it ever existed, or, how could the loss have been repaired? Hume, who wrote before this discovery, treats the whole as entirely fabulous,

* The MS. of *Scala Chronica*, is in the library bequeathed to Corpus Christi college, in Cambridge, by archbishop Parker.

others were drawn thither by their cupidity, or the hope of enjoying tranquillity, undisturbed by the domestic wars, and foreign invasions, to which Spain was always exposed; and, they were the more easily persuaded to this, because, in com-

omits it, and gives a mis-statement in its place; he makes Sir William Keith, the sole governor of Berwick, and never notices the noble conduct of Seton. There are two extremes in the affairs of life, of which, it is impossible to say, which of them be most detrimental to the cause of truth, credulity, and scepticism; scepticism claims the greatest credit, for being the most rational, but it not unfrequently is the most credulous, however paradoxical this position may appear. Respecting the earlier records, alleged to have been lost, it is necessary to consider, calmly, how the facts stand, as if it can be established that there is but a balance of probabilities, I shall gain all for which the limits of a note allow me to contend, and all that is requisite to justify the expressions so repeatedly used by our author. Anterior to the time of Cæsar, the Gauls were acquainted with the use of the Grecian letters, as he informs us, but whether they were ever applied to the preservation of any public record, among any of the various tribes who settled in Britain, or Ireland, can never now be ascertained; and, it must, therefore, be always a question, when the first memorandums of their own traditions or transactions were committed to writing, by natives of the northern part of Albion, or of Hibernia. It is probable, whatever fragments of this nature might exist, would be collected and deposited in the sanctuary of Iona; and Boece says that it was so, and that the annals of the kingdom were afterwards transferred to the priory of Restennet in Angus, a statement by no means inconsistent with copies or transcripts, being still in that monastery at a latter age; while, it may account for these transcripts being preserved, when the originals were carried off or destroyed, during the confusion occasioned by the disputes between Baliol and Bruce, about the succession. Boece, too, refers to works wholly unknown to all our historians, and, of whose writings, no other vestige can be discovered. This has been accounted for, by supposing that he destroyed the manuscripts which he had used, to render his own history of greater importance; a tradition, which, Gordon of Straloch says, was, in his younger days, current at Aberdeen. Now, Tyrrel refers to the Annals of Lanercost, which, Lord Hailes could obtain no other information about; yet, his lordship does not, therefore, suppose the Englishman had either forged an authority or burned one: but passing this, after various fatalities attending the library of Iona, according to the information of Pennant, it would appear, that, while the Norwegian princes were sovereigns of the isles, they judged it proper to carry some of the more valuable MSS. to a place of security in their own country: "I am informed," he says, "that numbers of the records of the Hebrides, were preserved at Drontheim, till they were destroyed by the great fire which happened in that city, either in the last, or present [18th] century." For a full account of the library of Iona, and its fate, see Dr. Jamieson's Hist. Acct. of the Ancient Culdees, ch. xiv.

ing to an island already occupied by a multitude of their own kindred, they seemed to come to another native land. And this root soon produced such a number of branches, in a country favourable to population, that Ireland not being able

That Edward I. carried away the records of Scotland is allowed, that he preserved whatever suited his own purpose, and that we have a list of them, is also not denied, but we are required to believe that he destroyed none, a demand which is in as strong opposition to probability, as it is to the uniform testimony of our Scottish writers, for it is impossible that he would allow to remain in existence, papers which proved the independence of the Scottish kingdom, when he had them in his possession, and that none such were ever in his hands, is equally improbable.—Goodal's Preface to Fordun.—These two circumstances greatly strengthen the supposition of the existence of records laying claim to an early date, which are now irrecoverably gone, of which excerpts, or private copies might have been kept in monasteries, or other religious houses, but which not being public papers, would escape Edward's search, though it is now wholly vain to think of tracing them; while the histories into which they may have been embodied, are treated, not altogether fairly, as monks' fables, except where some incidental discovery restores to them the credit of which they have been unjustly deprived, as in the case of the siege of Dunbar. What Cromwell carried off, cannot be ascertained, but this much is known, that several huge hogsheads full of papers connected with Scottish History, which had been carried out of the kingdom, were shipwrecked in the time of Charles II. in their passage from London to Scotland, and the very MS. from which Mr. Pinkerton prints his "most authentic" list of Píkish kings, was found in England, and carried thence to France. I request the reader to observe, that in all this, I am not asserting either the truth or the falsehood of the earliest series of Scottish kings, as here given; I am only stating the probabilities in favour of Buchanan's account, having been drawn up from records which we have no means of verifying, or rectifying; I am supposing that the inexplicable mystery may arise from a confusion of dates, names, and circumstances inevitable in the brief chronicle of a period including the traditional portion of our history. I may, however, be permitted to remark, that the noble love of liberty which breathes in that part of Buchanan's history, the freshness and vigour of his political remarks, and the lessons of wisdom which he inculcates, are of infinitely more importance than any list of barbaric names, the very pronunciation of which, would be a punishment to their posterity.

That Buchanan followed any of our ancient writers implicitly, is an assumption directly in the face of his own repeated declarations, and was first adopted by those who were inimical to his political opinions. But it was not the practice at the time when he wrote, for historians to quote their authorities, except in very particular cases; and although he is more full in this, than any of his cotemporaries, he has left us in doubt as to those he chiefly followed in the compilation of the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books, containing that

to contain them, they frequently passed over to the neighbouring smaller islands.

II. In the mean time, while the Scots*—for that was the name of the whole people—were increasing their settlements throughout the Æbudean islands, scattered in clanships, without king, or any certain form of government, a fleet from Germany, or, according to Bede, from Scythia, arrived on the coast of Ireland, driven thither by a tempest, as is proper

period of our history which Robertson gave up in despair, and which the researches of Sibbald, Innes, Pinkerton, and Chalmers, have been directed to alter, or to overturn. Without entering into any discussion upon a subject, on which so much has been written, and which so many volumes have not been able to set at rest, I shall only add, that all subsequent inquiry has tended to establish some of the leading features of our history, narrated by Buchanan; the progress of the Scots from Ireland, their first and second settlement, the identity of the Caledonians and Picts, and the accession of the Scottish monarchs to the Pictish throne. The subordinate details are as dissonant, as they are unimportant. The almost total inattention paid to dates, by our early writers, and their extreme inaccuracy renders it a work of immense, and in general, fruitless toil, even to attempt to reconcile them.

* Scots, this name has been deduced from various roots; 1st, from Scyth, or Scythian, in proof of which, is urged the practice of king Alfred, in his translation of Bede, and an Anglo-Belgic poem on the Danish wars, in the Cottonian library, with other writers of that time, who all use Scytisc, for Scottish, Pinkerton; 2d, from Sceite, Irish, which signifies dispersed and scattered, a name characteristic of their enterprising character, Chalmers; 3d, Scuit, a small body of men, Dr. M'Pherson; 4th, from Coit, a wood; and 5th, from Schut, a boat. Gibbon prefers the derivation from the word signifying wanderers, vol. iv. 291. It has been disputed when the appellation was first applied to the inhabitants of North Britain; Mr. Pinkerton's derivation of the term, supposes it to have been before the Christian era, which agrees with Buchanan's account. But allowing, although the opposite is the most plausible interpretation, that in the passage of Eumenius, the term *Hiberni*, does not mean British Scots, yet Camden discovered in Porphyry, a cotemporary of Eumenius, the appellation *Scoticæ Gentes*, the Scottish nations of the Britannic world; which proves it to have been in use at the same time, and renders it highly probable, as the Latin tongue was then much corrupted by false ornament, that the orator used *Britanni*, for *Britannici*, a poetical term, instead of plain prose. Let any English scholar look almost at any page of the writers, who, among ourselves at this moment, affect to write eloquently, and, after observing how many substantives are tortured into adjectives, say, if it be unlikely, that an equally affected Latin orator, might not have shown an equally bad taste.

bable, from their having brought neither wives nor children along with them; these strangers, perfectly destitute, for the length of their voyage had left them nothing remaining but their arms, having sent messengers to the Scots to beg a settlement among them, received for answer: "That they were obliged themselves, on account of the scarcity of land, to occupy these narrow and unfruitful islands, which, were they to give up wholly to them, would not be sufficient to accommodate such a multitude; but as they pitied their lot, they would give them their advice, as unfortunate men, who, from their language and customs, were apparently of the same lineage, and, as far as in their power, aid them in carrying it into effect. This advice was, that they should sail to the neighbouring island, Albium, large and fertile, and still, in many places, uninhabited, or, where it was, weak on account of the situation of the natives, who obeyed many different kings at enmity with each other, and that it would be easy for them, in these civil discords, by assisting the weaker party, to obtain for themselves ample possessions, and their assistance, for this purpose, would not be wanting." The Germans*—who were afterwards called Picts by the Romans, and neighbouring nations—influenced by the narrowness of the *Æbudæ*, and their own necessities, easily gave credit to this representation, and proceeded to the coast bordering on the German Ocean, where,

* Buchanan styles the original Picts, Germans, because Cæsar had told him that the Gauls sent colonies to Germany; and Bede had expressly said, that the Picts arrived in Scotland from the north. Mr. Pinkerton imagines that the Picts were the first inhabitants of the Western Isles, but from what authority, it is not easy to learn; for the passage in Bede, so often referred to, respecting the arrival of the Picts, is far from being decisive as to who were their first inhabitants. Buchanan's account, which is materially the same with that of Bede, has all the authority that can now be had in support of its authenticity, and is certainly preferable to Mr. P.'s conjecture, which in substance, contradicts the venerable historian. Besides, it is more natural; for when Ireland was overflowing with population, probabilities are in favour of part of the surplus, seeking, either from choice, or necessity, new habitations, in the islands almost within sight, rather than that the surplus produce of Norway, should come from a distance, first to possess them. The complete ascendancy of the Gaelic language in these islands, likewise, notwithstanding their long subjection to Norway, is another powerful argument, corroborative of the statement in the text being correct, in outline at least.

having vanquished the inhabitants, who were few in number, and divided among themselves, they reduced the greater part of that region under their dominion, and, in a short time, this auspicious commencement of friendship with the Scots, followed by intermarriages with them, rendered the two, almost one nation; and, thus it happened, that by frequent intercourse, a great number of Scots, detained by their allies, who were yet but weak, or impelled by the penury of their native land, or by their affection for their relations, fixed their habitation among the Picts.

III. The Picts, who rejoiced at the original access of their allies, when they perceived them increasing in such numbers, began to be afraid, lest, if the Scots should become the strongest, they would be subjected by them; and first, in their secret meetings, and next, in their public councils, took measures to provide against the future intermingling of strangers with them, as also, to diminish the number of those who were already settled. A rumour, likewise, was spread abroad, that an oracle had declared the whole nation of the Picts would be destroyed by the Scots. These suspicions became the occasion, that the nations heretofore so friendly, removed their habitations from each other. The Scots, who were more devoted to rearing cattle, and hunting, betook themselves to the mountainous districts, not adapted to agricultural pursuits, while the Picts supported themselves by cultivating the more fertile coasts along the German Ocean; and, by degrees, the mutual kindnesses originating in necessity, were turned into bloody civil broils; for, from slight grounds of quarrel at the commencement, enmities arose among these fierce barbarians, which laid the foundation of the most deadly hatred. The Britons, hostile to both, having found an opportunity, promoted the discord, and spontaneously offered the Picts their assistance against the Scots. When the Scots perceived this league, and the imminent danger with which they were threatened, they immediately applied themselves to procure both foreign auxiliaries, and a foreign prince. But, as none of the chiefs of the islands, who were all of equal dignity, could be induced to yield precedence to another, FERGUS, the son of FERCHARD, who was esteemed the first of all the Scots for

wisdom and activity, was declared king, in a full assembly of the people, and appointed to prepare an army, and lead it to battle, if necessary.

iv. Almost at the same time, a report was brought to the Scots, and the Picts, that the Britons, by their deceitful councils, urged on both nations to the most pernicious measures, intending to attack at once the victors, and the vanquished, in order that, either exterminating them by slaughter, or expelling them from Britain, they might enjoy the empire of the whole island. On receiving this information, the armies of the two nations remained in a state of uncertainty within their camps for several days. At last having come to a conference, and the secret fraud of the Britons being detected, they began to treat about peace, which in consequence, was restored, and the three different armies departed home. The Britons thus frustrated in their first attempt, endeavoured to accomplish their purpose by another fraud. They sent robbers, who secretly drove away the cattle of the Picts; and on restitution being demanded, they answered that it would be better to apply to the Scots, who were accustomed to thefts and robberies, than to demand it of them. Having thus mocked the embassy, the heralds were dismissed without having accomplished their errand, and the whole appeared plainly to be a trick. Wherefore, as their designs became now more apparent, the recent affront influenced the minds of both people more violently than even the irritation of the former attempt. The two kings in consequence, collected an army as quickly as they possibly could, entered the British territories, and after wasting their fields far and wide, returned home with immense plunder. To revenge this injury, the Britons entered the Scottish territories, and penetrated to the river Doon, occasioning, however, more terror than loss, and encamped upon the banks of that river. Fergus having sent into the mountains, and places inaccessible to armies, all the women and children, and whatever was liable to be either destroyed, or carried off, guarded every pass, and waited for the advance of the Picts. Being at last joined by them, after mutual deliberation, they resolved to protract the war, and

waste the strength of the enemy, by a powerful incursion into his own country.

v. Coilus, the king of the Britons, having understood by means of his spies, the reason of this delay, sent five hundred men forward, to lie in ambush among the hills, and determined to lead the rest of his army direct against the enemy. When the Picts learned this, after again taking counsel with the Scots, they resolved to anticipate his movements by a nocturnal attack on the camp of the Britons. The Scots, therefore, marching in front, and the Picts in the rear, came upon the enemy before daybreak, who, lulled into false security by the inactivity of the former days, had given over watching, and put almost the whole of them to the sword, ere half awake. Coilus himself, was among the slain in this engagement, and the district in which the battle was fought, was afterwards distinguished by his name. * FERGUS returning home victorious, the Scots confirmed the kingdom to him and his posterity by an oath. The new king, when he had arranged his affairs in Scotland, passed over into Ireland, to repress a rebellion against his authority there, which having accomplished, in returning, he was suddenly overtaken by a tempest, not far from the harbour, to which was given, in consequence, the name of Fergus' Craig, now Craig-fergus, or Carrickfergus, and perished in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. The time of his arrival in Albion, is placed about the taking of Babylon, by Alexander, the Macedonian, nearly three hundred and thirty years before Christ. †

* Kyle, or Coila, the place where the battle is said to have taken place, Coil's field, or Colfield, in the parish of Tarbolton; the place where Coilus was buried, Coilton, or Culton. These are the traditionary marks.

† The remote period at which the Scottish monarchy is, by our older writers, made to commence, is scarcely ever mentioned without a sneer; but the most outrageous of all the opponents of the antiquity of the Scottish royal line grants, that "long before Christianity was settled in Ireland, perhaps, indeed, before the birth of Christ, the Scots, or Scythæ, who conquered Ireland, had lost their speech in that of the greater number of the Celts, the common people, as usually happens," Pink. Enq. vol. ii. p. 48. But this does not happen in a day, ages are required to produce an assimilation of speech, between the conquerors, and the conquered, even among rude nations. Thence it follows, that long before the Christian era, the Scots were settled in Ireland, whither

II. FERITHARUS.

VI. Fergus dying, left two sons, Ferlegus and Mainus, but neither of them capable of reigning. Wherefore, when the chieftains were assembled to proclaim the new king, a great contention arose among them, some insisting upon adhering to the oath by which they had bound themselves to preserve the kingdom to the progeny of Fergus, others dwelling upon the dangers, both foreign and domestic, that would arise from the government of a boy. At last, after long disputation, a rule was laid down, by which the authority should neither be intrusted to a boy at an age incapable of reigning, nor yet their oath violated—that when the children of a king were infants, the next in kin who appeared best qualified for managing the affairs of the realm should be advanced to the chief government, and upon his decease, the succession of the kingdom should revert to the children of the former king; this afterwards passed into a law, which was observed for almost 1250 years, till the reign of Kenneth III. By this law, Feritharus, the brother of Fergus, obtained the kingdom, and for five years he bore that honour, with such justice and moderation, that the people found in him an upright king, and his pupils an excellent guardian. By these means he secured the tranquillity of the state, and the affections of the lieges. But this did not satisfy the ambition of his nephews, for Ferlegus, already inflamed with the desire of reigning, after communicating his intentions to some of the most turbulent young nobles, who were eager for a change, went to his uncle, and demanded from him his paternal kingdom, which he held, not in his own right, but in trust. Feritharus, far from being disturbed by this unexpected demand, called an assembly of the people, and declared himself ready to deliver up the kingdom, and even spoke in praise of the young prince. He said “that he wished to cultivate the affections of his relatives, and would rather choose freely and voluntarily, to deliver up

the transition to Scotland was easy, and the same author places the “Piks” in Scotland, upwards of 200 years B. C. So that according to this most rigid Enquirer, we have both the nations upon the spot, or very near it, at the time assigned by our earlier writers, for the origin of our race of kings.

the kingdom intrusted to him, from which death must soon, at all events, remove him, than be forced by necessity, to retire." But such was the respect and affection of the whole assembly, towards Feritharus, that they expressed their aversion at this premature desire of the crown, in Ferlegus, not only by their countenances, and the clashing of their shields, but by one unanimous acclamation; and having discovered, by his accomplices, the conspiracy against his uncle, they condemned the author of so detestable a design to the highest punishment. Yet from respect to the memory of his father, and the affection, and entreaties of his uncle, they inflicted a milder sentence, and only subjected him to the inspection of officers, whom they appointed to watch narrowly, all his words and actions; but he impatient of any delay, however short, in the accomplishment of his desired object, having deceived his keepers, fled with a few associates, first to the Picts, and when he found there no persons willing to aid his attempts, he retired among the Britons, where he finished an idle, and an ignoble life. Feritharus died within a few months after, whether by disease, or design, is uncertain, but the previous ambition, the detected crime, and the subsequent flight of Ferlegus, fixing the suspicion of his death upon him, he was condemned by universal opinion, in his absence, nearly fifteen years after the death of his father.

III. MAINUS.

VII. Ferlegus being set aside, his brother Mainus, more similar in disposition to his father and uncle, than his brother, was created the third king of the Scots. He established peace with his neighbours, repressed all turbulence at home, and by a rigid attention to the duties of religion, he procured for himself, such a character for justice and piety, that it was reckoned as criminal among strangers, as among his own countrymen, to attempt injuring him. Safer in this opinion of his sanctity, than by the terror of arms, after having reigned twenty-nine years, he died, to the great regret of all the virtuous.

IV. DORNADILLA.

VIII. Mainus left a son, Dornadilla, the successor to his kingdom, who resembled his father in the exercise of justice,

but was different in the other habits of his life. He spent a great part of his time in hunting, for he considered that exercise suitable to a time of peace, as healthful, and calculated to strengthen the body for military exercises, besides rendering the mind capable of enjoying the purest pleasures, and protecting it against the pernicious vices, which are produced by indolence. It is reported, that the laws respecting hunting among the ancient Scots, which are observed to this day, were made by him. He died in the twenty-eighth year of his reign.

V. NOTHATUS.

IX. On the death of Dornadilla, the people ordered his brother Nothatus, to assume the sovereignty, his son Rutherus, being in his nonage. He immediately transformed the government, which, till his time, had been limited, and legitimate—that is, it had been conducted, and regulated, by the established laws of the country—into a haughty tyranny, and as if the kingdom had been intrusted to him, not for protection, but for plunder, he harassed every where the high, and the low, by confiscations, exile, death, and every species of punishment, setting no bounds to his outrageous cruelty. While the rest of the nobles were stupified by fear, an ambitious chief named DONAL, from Galloway, perceiving the hatred of the people to the sovereign, conceived the design of making this subservient to his own exaltation, and having learned that Nothatus was preparing to cut him off by stratagem, he resolved to anticipate the attempt. When every thing was completely prepared for his purpose, he went to the king with a great train of vassals and friends, and having openly accused him of the murder of the nobility, the spoliation of their property, and the public slavery, he demanded that he should deliver up the kingdom, which he did not understand how to govern, to the rightful heir. Nothatus, contrary to expectation, irritated by these reproaches, answered with his usual haughtiness, that what he had done, he had done by his royal prerogative, and if any thing harsh had occurred, it had arisen, not from his royal inclination, but was owing to the contumacy of his subjects. Mutually enraged by these recriminations, the antagonists proceeded to blows, when Nothatus was slain by

some of Donal's retainers, after a cruel and avaricious reign of twenty years.

VI. RUTHERUS.

x. Rutherus was immediately hailed king, by the faction of Donal, without any respect to the suffrages of the people. The report of this transaction being brought to the nobles, although they thought Nothatus worthy of punishment, yet they did not approve of the precedent. A number were offended, that the assembly of the people should be disregarded, and the choice of a chief magistrate, placed in the hands of one man; nor did they think it altogether a disinterested action in Donal, to raise to the highest office in the state, a youth, incapable of sustaining the burden of the government; for, on reflection, it appeared sufficiently evident that the royal name would belong to Rutherus, but the power would belong wholly to him; nor did it seem of much importance to the public, whether Nothatus, or Donal governed, unless, perhaps, they might expect to lead a more comfortable life under the latter, who, while in a private station, had killed the king, and given away the sceptre, than under the other, who had not become tyrannical, until by the sufferance of the people, he was intrusted with power, and surrounded with the terrors of a standing army. When the relatives of Nothatus heard that such surmises were abroad, they insinuated themselves into all public meetings, and, inflaming the general indignation, procured war to be declared against Donal, and Ferchard, a son-in-law of Nothatus, to be appointed general of the army. Nor was Donal averse to battle. On one day they engaged twice; but although the Donalians were superior in number, yet they were routed, and put to flight, and more were killed in the pursuit, than in the action, for besides Donal, and the chiefs of his faction, Gethus, the king of the Picts, with a great number of his people, were slain. Rutherus, the new king, was taken prisoner, but pardoned, on account of his tender age, the memory of his father, and respect for the royal blood. Nor was the victory bloodless to the conquerors, for, besides the common soldiers, almost all their chieftains fell on the field.

xi. This conflict of the Scots and Picts, reduced them so

low in Britain, that those who remained, retired to the more rugged, and uncultivated places, and to the neighbouring islands, that they might not become a prey to the Britons. For the Britons, as soon as they found the opportunity they had long sought, advanced immediately to the Bodotria, now the Forth, without resistance; and after a temporary halt they marched against the Caledonians, who had collected to oppose them, dispersed them, and occupied all the champaign country of the Picts, where they placed garrisons, then thinking the war finished, returned home with their army. In the meantime, the remains of the Scots and Picts, who had retired to the mountains, woods, and other fastnesses, harassed the governors of the castles, by their irruptions, carrying off their cattle, and all their means of subsistence, and afterward, collecting greater bands from the islands, they burned the villages, spread their depredations every where over the country, and rendered it almost uninhabitable. The Britons, either detained by their domestic dissensions, or not deeming it safe to lead an army into such waste and impervious places, where they could bring no superior force to bear upon the enemy, cherished their boldness, by their inactivity. The Scots and Picts, after being afflicted with misfortunes for twelve years, during which, a new race of warlike young men having arisen, hardily nurtured in adversity, sent messengers into every quarter, and strengthening themselves by their mutual exhortations, determined again to attempt retrieving their fortune. Rutherus, therefore, sailed from Ireland to the Æbudæ, and thence, afterward, to Albium, where he landed his troops at the æstuary, now called Loch Broom, and joining the army of Gethus—the son of Gethus—his wife's brother, they consulted about hazarding their fortune on the issue of a battle, and decided to attack the enemy unawares, while unprepared. In the first conflict, the contest was maintained so obstinately, that neither party, on retiring from the field, had much cause of boasting, and both being fatigued with mutual slaughter, peace was concluded for several years. Rutherus—or, as Bede calls him, Reuda*—returned to his

* Rutheras, Reuda. When once any old creed is shaken, men are wonderfully apt to run into the opposite extreme. As the ancient Scottish his-

ancient capital, in Argyle, and the Scots were long, after him, called Dalreudini, for Daal, in the Scots language, signifies a part, thence, in a short time, he extended the kingdom to its ancient boundaries. He died in the twenty-sixth year after he had begun to reign, leaving a son, Thereus, by the daughter of Gethus.

VII. REUTHA.

XII. According to the law, respecting the royal succession, already mentioned, Thereus, being only ten years of age, and incapable of reigning, his uncle, Reutha, was declared king. He, finding the country free from external war, endeavoured to reduce to better order, the people, who, in the first instance, had been rendered savage by misfortune, and, then, insolent by victory, enacting many useful laws, not a few of which, remain still in force among the ancient Scots. When he had, by these means, governed seventeen years, with the greatest respect and esteem, induced either by bad health—which he himself alleged—or fearing the ambitious disposition of The-

torians were found wrong in some points, they were immediately concluded to be fabulous in all. The existence of the Scots, even in Britain, before A. D. 503, was denied by Usher, Lloyd, Stillingfleet, &c. The passage of Bede, to which Buchanan refers, is urged by Mr. Pinkerton, as a proof that this was the first arrival of the Scots, and that it took place, about A. D. 258. "The very preservation of the name of the leader, by Bede," he remarks, "argues a late settlement," but this name was preserved by the designation of the people, and therefore proves nothing with regard to the date. He allows, however, "Had Bede followed strict chronology, the Scots, by his account, must have settled in Britain, before Cæsar's time." So they are placed by Buchanan, who had understood the venerable historian, in this sense.

Kennedy, an Irish writer, in his *Genealogical Dissertation on the family of Stuart*, quoted by Pinkerton, says, "Our writers unanimously tell us, that Carbre Riaada, was the founder of the Scottish sovereignty in Britain; but they make him only a captain, as venerable Bede does, or conductor, who ingratiated himself so far with the Piks, by his, and his children's assistance and good service against the Britons, that they consented that they, and their followers, should continue among them." The settlement of the Scots, under Reuda, in Argyle, is allowed by every writer, as also the name, Dalriad Scots. The date only is disputed. But even Mr. Pinkerton, we see, allows that Bede, if understood according to the strict letter, places the arrival of the Scots in Britain, long before the Christian era.

reus, he, after pronouncing a speech, in which he highly praised his nephew, abdicated the government, much against the inclinations of the people.

VIII. THEREUS.

XII. Thereus being substituted in his room, for the first six years of his reign, behaved in such a manner, as seemed to justify the predictions of Reutha; but, afterward, he, all at once, and not by degrees, rushed headlong into every vice. Having destroyed the chief of his nobility, by mock trials, all restraint was removed, and the most flagitious wretches, speedily filled the whole kingdom with robbery. On which, the chieftains, who deplored the state of the country, determined to bring the king to punishment; but, he being informed of the confederacy, fled to the Britons, and there, despairing of being restored, lingered out his life in ignominy and contempt. In the mean time, CONAN, a prudent and rigid noble, was elected viceroy, who restored what Thereus had shaken, or impaired, checked robberies, and, having settled the commonwealth, as far as he was able, on receiving intelligence of the death of Thereus, in public assembly, abdicated the government, about the twelfth year from the time when Thereus had begun to reign.

IX. JOSINA.

XIII. On the resignation of Conan, Josina, the brother of the late king, was raised to the helm, of whom, nothing either good or bad is related, except that he held medical men in great estimation, because, when he was exiled to Ireland with his father, they had been his most intimate companions; and the principal nobility imitating the manners of the king, it happened, that for many years, there was scarcely any person of high birth in Scotland, who did not understand the treatment and cure of wounds; the other departments of medicine were of little use among a people so frugally educated, and accustomed to laborious exercises. He died in a good old age, after he had held the kingdom twenty-four years.

X. FINNANUS.

xiv. Finnanus, the son of Josina, succeeded his father, and followed his footsteps; he laboured most assiduously to accustom his people to a peaceable and moderate government, and maintained the royal authority, more by the mildness of his sway, than the power of his arms. In order to destroy the roots of tyranny, he passed a law, that no king should engage in any affair of importance, without the advice and sanction of the public council. After a reign of thirty years, he died, leaving a memory equally dear to citizens and strangers.

XI. DURSTUS.

xv. Nothing increased more the universal regret for the loss of Finnanus, than the profligate conduct of his son, Durstus, who succeeded him. He commenced his reign by driving from his presence, as unwelcome intruders upon his pleasures, all his father's friends, and choosing as his intimate associates, some of the most profligate young men; and, at last, entirely abandoning himself to every kind of debauchery. He exposed his wife, a daughter of the king of the Britons, as a prostitute to his nobles. A conspiracy, however, being formed against him, by some of the leading men of the kingdom, he awoke as out of a dream, and when he saw neither safety at home, nor any asylum abroad, equally hated both by foreigners and subjects, he deemed it prudent to pretend repentance for his former life, that he might retain his dominion, and, in time, be avenged upon his enemies. Wherefore, having recalled his wife, he endeavoured to reconcile himself with the Britons; and assembling his principal chiefs, he procured, under the sanction of a solemn oath, oblivion for the past. He threw the most notorious criminals into prison, as if on purpose to reserve them for punishment; and promised most religiously, that, in future, he would engage in nothing of importance, without first consulting his nobles. When, by these means, he had produced a belief of his sincerity, he celebrated this reconciliation, by games, feasting, and other public rejoicings. While the minds of all ranks were intoxicated with joy, he invited a great number of his nobility to a magnificent enter-

tainment, and, shutting them up, unsuspecting, and unarmed in one room, he sent in his ruffians among them, and murdered the whole assembly. This disaster, however, so far from terrifying those who remained, only added new fuel to their languishing indignation; and conspiring together, they collected a great army for the destruction of the hated monster. Durstus perceiving all hope of escape cut off, being joined by a few desperadoes, whom the common dread of punishment, on account of their aggravated crimes, had gathered together, risked his fortunes in a battle, in which he was slain, after a reign of nine years. Although the universal hatred was so justly excited against this wretch, yet, respect for the royal name, and for the memory of his ancestors, induced them to allow the dead body to be interred in the sepulchre of his fathers.

XII. EVENUS.

xvi. In the convention called for the election of a new king, a great contention arose among the nobles; some thinking, that according to the oath made to Fergus, the ancient established custom ought to be preserved; others fearing, lest if any of the relations of Durstus should be made king, they would either resemble him in his infamous conduct, or be desirous of revenging the blood of their relative. In the end, however, Evenus, cousin-german of Durstus, recommended by the excellence of his previous life, and distinguished for his hatred to the former tyrant while alive, was sent for from among the Picts, whither his hatred to Durstus had driven him, as a voluntary exile, and by the universal consent of the assembly, called to the throne. He is believed to have been the first who ever caused his subjects to take an oath of fealty, which custom is still observed by all the chiefs of the realm. Evenus, in order to reform the manners of the people, which had become corrupted under the late king, recalled the youth to the ancient simplicity in dress, food, and common manners; for, thus, he thought, they would be rendered more formidable in war, and less turbulent in peace. He diligently visited every part of his dominions, and administered justice with the utmost moderation, punishing the criminal according to their

demerit. He assisted the Picts against the Britons, between whom a long and bloody battle was fought with the utmost obstinacy, until night separated them, leaving the victory so uncertain, and the carnage so dreadful, on each side, that both the armies, struck with terror, departed, the Britons to their own territories, and the Scots and Picts to the nearest mountains; but, the latter, next day, perceiving from the heights, the flight of their opponents, descended, and gathering the spoil of the fugitives, proclaimed themselves victorious, and returned home with their armies. Evenus, having thus repulsed the enemy, turned his attention, again, to the arts of peace; and, that the kings might not be troubled by travelling over so many countries, as the custom then was, for the administration of justice, he appointed ordinary judges for that purpose, and divided the kingdom into circuits. He also appointed spies for giving information against offenders; but that office being found a very doubtful means of suppressing vice, it was abrogated by law, or abolished by desuetude. He died in the nineteenth year of his reign, leaving a crafty and ambitious bastard son, Gillus.

XIII. GILLUS.

XVII. There remained, however, of the legitimate progeny of the late king, two sons, Dochamus and Dorgallus, twins. As there was no difference between the ages of the brothers, there arose a dispute respecting the crown, which was violently inflamed by the deceit of Gillus. Their mutual claims being referred to the arbitration of their relatives, when nothing could be decided, on account of the pertinacious obstinacy of the factions, Gillus, who had been the instigator of both, advised them to murder each other. But, his secret counsels producing no effect, he collected the chief nobles, and the kindred of the princes, under pretence of settling the controversy, when a sudden tumult was excited by ruffians whom he had placed there on purpose; both of the brothers were killed, and, then, as if he had himself been surrounded by treachery, imploring the protection of all present, he fled to Evonia, a fortified place, erected by king Evenus. Having seized this station, with several of the nobility, and the accomplices of his

crimes, he addressed the assembled people from a turret of the castle. After insisting much on the rashness and obstinacy of his brothers, and inveighing strongly against the authors of the murder, he concluded by informing them, that he had been left by Evenus, not only the guardian of his family, but the protector of the kingdom, until a new king should be chosen. Those who heard him, although they believed what he said was false, yet when they saw him in a fortified place, with a strong garrison, dreading a greater danger, swore fealty, and acknowledged him king. Although he was thus confirmed in the possession of the kingdom, by the expressed consent of the people, yet, not thinking himself safe as long as any of the posterity of Durstus remained, he resolved to cut off his nephews, Lismore, Gormachus, and Ederus, the children of Domachus, the son of Durstus. The young princes, residing at this time in the Isle of Man for their education, Gillus set out himself, on purpose to destroy them, and brought the two eldest, whom he loaded with marks of honour and affection, to Albium along with him, that, being royal youths, they might, as he pretended, be royally educated. With Ederus, the youngest, he left soldiers, under the pretence of a guard, to whom he gave secret instructions, that, on a certain day, they should kill the boy; but, the disposition of Gillus being well known, the nurse, who suspected deceit, carried off her foster child secretly by night, and passed over into Argyle with him, where she brought him up privily for some years in a cave, notwithstanding the endeavours of Gillus to discover the place of his retreat. He killed, however, the two elder brothers, along with their guard, and afterward, misled by a false report, that Ederus had retired to Ireland, he desisted from all further pursuits after him. But, although he had murdered the nephews of Durstus, yet, not thinking himself secure, so long as any of the royal line remained, he caused the whole of their relations and adherents to be massacred. The nobles, who groaned under the present tyrannical system, and feared a worse might follow, conspired secretly, and managed their operations with so much dexterity, that, before Gillus heard of their preparations, they had taken the field against him.

XVIII. When the king attempted to collect an army to oppose the rebels, he soon perceived how slender the fidelity of mankind is toward bad rulers. Few came to him, and that few consisted almost wholly of those, who, on account of the wickedness of their former lives, dreaded peace. Distrusting, therefore, his own people, he left the army, and fled in a fishing boat to Ireland. The Scots, that they might not want a legitimate ruler, created Caduallus, the chief of the conspirators, their viceroy, the hostile troops, at the same time, being allowed to swear allegiance. When the viceroy, Caduallus, understood that Gillus was every where collecting the most atrocious ruffians, in order to renew the war, he determined, before he should collect any numerous force, to follow him to whatever quarter he should flee. First, he sailed to the Æbudean islands, where he ordered Ederus, the only remaining son of Durstus, to be brought to him, and gave him a liberal establishment. Gillus, having heard of his arrival, returned into Ireland, and engaged the chiefs of that nation, by the promises of great rewards, to assist in his restoration; particularly, agreeing, in case of success, to give them possession of the Æbudæ; by which means, he collected a great army. Caduallus, when he had completed his preparations for transporting his troops, was drawn off from the pursuit, to repel a false charge of aspiring to the crown.

XIV. EVENUS II.

XIX. His first step was to cause Evenus, an illustrious man, the son of Donal, the brother of king Finnanus, to be created king by the popular suffrage, who, having accepted the government, fortified with strong garrisons, all the places which lay conveniently for the enemy, particularly the maritime stations, that no sudden descent might be attempted with impunity. Gillus, hearing of these proceedings, altered his plan, and sailed to the island of Isla, where he laid every thing waste with fire and sword, and then returned to Ireland. Evenus, that he might destroy the source of the war, sent a large army thither, under Caduallus; nor did Gillus decline the battle; but, being deserted by the greater part of his troops, who had followed him more from the love of plunder than

from any affection, he changed his clothes, and fled to a neighbouring wood, accompanied only by a few of his numerous army; the remainder, deserted by their leader and his associates, surrendered themselves to Caduallus. Gillus, after the battle, was long sought for, and was at last found hid in an obscure cave, where he was killed, in the third year of his reign. His head was brought to Caduallus. He thus happily finished the war; but, in returning from Ireland was not equally fortunate; for, being overtaken by a furious tempest, the greater part of his army, with all the spoil, was lost, which preyed so deeply on his spirits, that he, not long after, died of a broken heart, the king having in vain endeavoured to console him, by praising his glorious conduct in the war, and imputing the disaster to adverse fortune. The new king, being renowned on account of these successes, renewed the peace with the Picts, and confirmed it, by receiving in marriage the daughter of Gethus, king of that nation. This public felicity was interrupted by the sudden landing of the Orcadians, in Albium; but, the king attacking them unexpectedly, drove them from the plains to the mountains, and from the mountains to the sea; there, trembling and crowding together, they occasioned such irretrievable confusion, in attempting to re-embark, that they were almost to a man cut off; and Belus, their king, despairing of safety, slew himself. Evenus, having finished the war, turned his attention to the works of peace, and built two emporiums for trade, Innerlochtee,* and Innerness, both receiving their names from rivers flowing through them, for Enner, in the ancient Scots language, signifies a place where ships may enter. He tranquillized the Æbudean Islands, the inhabitants of which, by the license of long wars, and internal discords, had become very turbulent, and, shortly after, he died, having reigned seventeen years.

XV. EDERUS.

xx. Ederus, the son of Dochamus, succeeded. While the nation was reaping the advantages of foreign and domestic peace, again so happily established, and the king, according to

* Vide Note on ch. xxviii. book i.

the ancient custom, indulged himself in the amusement of hunting, news were suddenly brought, that Bredius, an Islander, and a relation of Gillus, had arrived with a large fleet, and was plundering the country. Ederus, having hastily collected an army, led them as secretly as possible against the enemy, and passing their camp in the night, he attacked the fortified station, where the ships lay, of which he easily gained possession, and, having killed the guard, burned the fleet. Early next morning, he advanced against the main army, which he found equally unprepared for his reception; the suddenness of his attack having thrown them into irretrievable confusion, they were instantly put to the rout; many were slain while hesitating whether to fight or flee, and the survivors, having their escape by sea cut off, were taken and hanged. The plunder was given to the rightful owners. Some years after, another relative of Gillus, from the same islands, raised a similar commotion, which had a similar result, the army was destroyed, the fleet burned, the booty recovered, and restored to its proper proprietors. Thus, peace being every where established, the aged king died of a distemper, in the forty-eighth year of his reign.

XVI. EVENUS III.

XXI. Evenus III., the degenerate son of a most excellent father, next succeeded. Not content with a hundred concubines, selected from the most noble families, for his private gratification, he openly proclaimed his lasciviousness, by public statute, and procured an ordinance, allowing any wealthy man to take as many wives as he could maintain, and authorizing the king to have the right of enjoying the brides of his nobility on the first night, before the consummation of their nuptials, the chiefs being allowed a similar privilege, on the marriage of their vassals, and the wives of the peasants being declared common to their superiors.* These crimes were followed, as is usual, by their companions, prodigality, cruelty, and avarice; for, when his revenues did not meet his expendi-

* This law, which has been considered as part of the feudal system, is said to have been repealed by Malcolm III. who substituted a fine. Vide Note on the *Marchæ Mulierum*, under that reign.

ture, the rich were dragged to punishment upon the most frivolous pretexts, and the monarch descending to participate even with meaner ruffians, the most enormous robberies were perpetrated with impunity; so that the favour which he had hoped to secure from a corrupted youth, by the permission of promiscuous lewdness, he lost by his cruelty and rapacity, and a conspiracy of his nobles soon taught him how insecure, and how faithless, is the friendship of the wicked. On his first appearance in the field, he was deserted by all his associates, and being delivered alive, into the hands of his enemies, he was thrown into a public jail. Cadallanus, who was appointed regent, having taken the opinion of the nobles respecting his punishment, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But some person, either desirous of revenging former injuries, or, perhaps, expecting a reward from the chieftains for the murder, or at least promising himself impunity, strangled the deposed ruler, during the night, in prison. He had reigned seven years. The author of this crime, however, was hanged.

XVII. METELLANUS.

XXII. Metellanus, a relation of Ederus, followed. He was not less dear to his people, on account of his eminent virtues, than Evenus had been hated, on account of his flagitious vices; and what conduced greatly to strengthen his authority, was, that during his whole reign, he maintained uninterrupted tranquillity, both at home and abroad. This alone was wanting to consummate the supreme felicity—a repeal of the infamous laws of Evenus—but the pertinacious libidity of the nobles, prevented his being able to procure their abrogation. He died in the thirtieth year of his reign.

XVIII. CARATACUS

XXIII. Metellanus dying without children, the kingdom was conferred on Caratacus, the son of Cadallanus, of the blood-

* Caratacus. Boethius, Lesly, and Abercrombie, make this king the same as the famous British Caractacus. Buchanan silently rejects this fable, and successfully combats another, which had the higher authority of Eutropius, Orosius, and Bede, that Claudius conquered Orkney. These circumstances prove, that he sifted the record, and set down nothing rashly. In

royal. He, almost in the very beginning of his reign, quelled an insurrection of the Æbudeans, who had rebelled on the death of the late king, not without considerable trouble. I cannot, however, readily credit our historians, who, following Orosius, Eutropius, and Bede, relate, that the Orcades were subdued during the reign of Claudius Cæsar; not because I think it would have been difficult for him to have conquered a few islands, scattered throughout a tempestuous ocean, inhabited by a scanty, and unarmed population, and if attacked singly, unable to defend each other by mutual concert; neither, because I think it incredible that a fleet might have been sent by Claudius, a man, as Orosius tells us, who sought war and victory, every where, but because Tacitus affirms, that before the expedition of Julius Agricola, the whole of that part of Britain was unknown to the Romans. Caratacus reigned twenty years.

XIX. CORBREDUS.

xxiv. Corbredus, the brother of Caratacus, succeeded him. He also, in several expeditions, quelled the Islanders, who, almost at the end of every reign, seduced by the love of change, broke out into insurrections, and he exterminated the thieves who robbed the common people. Having established peace there, he returned to Albium, and travelled over the whole of Scotland, repairing the damages which war had occasioned. He died in the eighteenth year of his reign.

XX. DARDANUS.

xxv. The assembly of the nobles, passing over the son of Corbredus, on account of his tender age, ordered the crown to be given to Dardanus, the nephew of Metellanus. No person ever began a career of such high expectation, and none ever more bitterly disappointed the hopes which he had raised. Before he received the government, he had given many examples of liberality, temperance, and fortitude; in the beginning of his reign, he behaved with decency, but scarcely had he been seated upon the throne three years, when he rushed

fact, those who so liberally denominate him a retailer of Boethius' fables, do not appear to have read the work they so freely condemn.

headlong into every species of vice. He drove from his presence, the upright and prudent men, who had been his father's counsellors, because they remonstrated against his misconduct, while he bestowed his confidence on flatterers, or those who could invent any new amusement. He put to death Cardorus, his own relation, who had been lord chief justice under the former king, because his presence interrupted his licentious pleasures; and in a short time destroyed, by treachery or fraud, almost every one who was distinguished for rank, fortune, or virtue. At last, in order to free himself from the fear of a successor, he determined to cut off Corbredus Galdus, a near relation of his own, together with his brothers, who had been liberally educated, as heirs of the kingdom. The charge of this assassination was intrusted to Cormacus, one of his most intimate friends, who, after receiving many gifts, and being loaded with promises, was dismissed, in order to perpetrate the deed, but having attempted it incautiously, he was taken in the act, by some of the attendants of Galdus, with his dirk unsheathed. Being instantly led to trial, and put to the torture, he revealed both the author, and the whole of the plot; on which he was instantly executed. When this infamous attempt was made known, an extensive conspiracy was formed against Dardanus, the instruments of his base pleasures were put to death, as quickly as they could be apprehended, and the life of the king himself, as the head of the mischief, was eagerly sought after. In the mean time, Conanus, one of the parasitical crew, a man of low birth, but who was in a situation of great trust and authority about the sovereign, having collected an army, had the audacity to march against the nobles, but being deserted by his followers, he was made prisoner, and hanged; on which the people, immediately, under Galdus as their leader, having seized Dardanus, as he was seeking for a lurking place, carried him, after he had, on being apprehended, vainly attempted to kill himself, before Galdus, who ordered him to be put to death. His head being cut off, and exposed to the derision of the multitude, his body was thrown upon a dunghill. He had reigned four years.

XXI. CORBREDUS II.

XXVI. Corbredus II. surnamed Galdus, succeeded, and by the early promise of his virtues, the remembrance of his excellent father, and his ingenuous disposition, was equally dear to the nobles, and to the people. Some think he is the same who is called Galgacus, by Tacitus. The surname of Galdus was given him by the Scots, because he was educated among the Britons, for the Scots, by ancient usage, were accustomed to call strangers, Galds, or Gauls, as the Germans denominated them Walsch, as I have already noticed. He exceeded the most sanguine expectations, which he had excited, proceeding to the islands of Sky, and Lewis, by a due mixture of prudence and severity, he crushed the rebellions which had arisen there, and increased through the inactivity of Dardanus. He slew the leaders of the robbers, and the rest he forced by the fear of punishment, either to go into voluntary exile, or return to rural occupations. I imagine he was the first king of the Scots, who came into action with the Romans, now by degrees extending their empire to his boundaries; for Petilius Cerealis, was the first who broke the strength of the Brigantines, and his successor, Julius Frontinus, overcame the Silures; and it is not improbable, that both the Picts and the Scots, sent assistance to these nations, who were at no great distance from their borders. Julius Agricola succeeded these generals, and having overcome the Ordovici, and subjected the isle of Anglesey, he arrived at the narrowest part of Britain, when, thinking that no great space of the island remained unconquered, he determined to subdue the whole. Accordingly, in the third year of his command, having over-run, and laid waste, the territories of the Scots and Picts, as far as to the river Tay, although his army was distressed by the rigour of the season, yet, having time left, he erected castles, in commanding situations, and thus frustrated the designs, and broke the strength of his enemies; for previously to this, the natives inured to all the severity of the climate, waited patiently till the legions were dispersed in winter quarters, and then recovered, during that season, what they had lost during the summer, and would even, frequently, take by

assault, castles which had not been sufficiently fortified. But now, the skill of Agricola in choosing the positions of his forts, his diligence in strengthening them, and his annually renewing the garrisons, counteracted all their plans. In the fourth year of his command, having observed what a narrow isthmus there was between the friths of the Forth and Clyde, he secured the space by military stations, and wasted that part of the country which is situate on the borders of the Irish Sea. In the fifth year, he sent his fleet into the ocean, made descents upon several places, and harassed the maritime coasts, by his spoliations. He likewise fortified the coast opposite Ireland, not only for present safety, but likewise, that he might afterward, thence more easily pass over to that island.

XXVII. The Scots and Picts being thus, by the prudence of Agricola, shut up in a narrow corner, and cut off from all connexion with the Britons, prepared for the last extremity. Nor was Agricola inactive, he ordered his fleet to sail round, and explore the utmost boundary of the island, while, having led his army beyond the Forth, he approached towards the Caledonians. There the enemy determined to put their last stake to hazard. Having attacked some of the Roman castles, they excited so much terror, that many of the Roman officers, dreading their numbers, and the obstinacy of their despair, deliberated whether they should not return with the army, into more peaceable regions. But the general was fixed in his determination to engage, and when he heard the Caledonians were advancing in several lines, he divided his army into three bodies, and led them out to meet them, which circumstance had almost proved his ruin; for the enemy understanding his design, suddenly attacked one legion in the night, with their whole force, and having killed the guards, had very nearly seized the camp, but being prevented by the advance of the other legions, they maintained the action vigorously, until daybreak, when, being at last vanquished, they again retreated back to their inaccessible fastnesses. This happened in the seventh * year of the expedition. Both sides now pre-

* Seventh year. This is evidently an error, either of the transcriber, or printer, as according to Buchanan's own narrative, in which he follows Tac-

pared themselves against next summer, for the last decisive struggle, the Romans placing their hopes of finishing the war, upon a victory, and their opponents looking forward to the conflict, as to that which was to determine the fate of their liberty, life, and all that is dear and sacred among men. The Scots and Picts, believing that the former battles had been gained more by art than bravery, stationed their forces on a rising ground, at the foot of the Grampian mountains, and there waited the approach of the Romans. At that place, a sanguinary contest commenced, which was continued long with doubtful success, till almost the whole of the bravest of the Caledonians being slain, the vanquished reluctantly retired to places of greater safety. Nor was it longer doubtful, but that Agricola would have reduced the whole of Britain, by his arms, had he not been recalled by Domitian, to be put to death, instead of receiving an honourable reward. Upon his departure, the Roman camp became distracted by sedition, and the Scots and Picts, by this means partially relieved, began to come forth from their lurking holes, when perceiving that the Romans had neither the same leader, nor the same discipline, they despatched ambassadors every where, to excite the spirits, not only of their own countrymen, but likewise of the Britons. At first they attempted only by skirmishes to

tus, Vit. Agricola, c. 26. the action with the advanced legion, took place in the sixth year that Agricola was in Britain; and the famous battle with Galgacus, at the foot of the Grampians, was fought in the seventh, *ib.* cap. 29. Various spots have been pitched upon, as the scene of this engagement. Maitland, and Roy, suppose the hill of Urie, in Aberdeenshire. The camp at the Findochs, in the parish of Monzie, on the Almond river, in Perthshire, has been mentioned, but the most probable conjecture appears to be, that which fixes on the moor of Ardoch, Perthshire. "On the hill above the moor," says Gordon, "are two great heaps of stones, the one called Carnwochel, the other, Carnlee, in the former, the quantity of stones, exceeds belief, and I found, by mensuration, the whole heap to be about 182 feet in length, 30 in sloping height, and 45 in breadth, at the bottom." *Itin.* Septen. These two cairns, the author of *Caledonia*, pronounces British [*i. e.* Celtic] monuments of the Caledonians, who fell in the engagements, and that the name Victoria, which, the Romans afterwards gave to their station on the Ruchel, near Comrie, in this vicinity, is a significant memorial of their former decisive victory.

raise the courage of the soldiers, then they attacked their garrisons, and at last, they did not hesitate to risk their fortune in a pitched battle. By this plan the Romans, being expelled from their country, were forced to contend with the Britons, for the ancient province, in dubious warfare. Galdus having procured repose by force of arms, applied himself diligently to the inspection of his dominions, and restored to the ancient chiefs their lands, which had been devastated by the war; he settled his soldiers on the depopulated districts, and having repressed the banditti, amicably composed all his differences with the eastern Picts. At last he departed, not less illustrious among his enemies than dear to his friends, after he had governed the kingdom thirty-five years.

XXII. LUCTACUS.

xxviii. The place of an excellent father, was filled by Luctacus, a most flagitious son, who, in spite of his paternal instructions, abandoned himself wholly to wine and women. No one was safe from his lascivious designs, either by the propinquity of relationship, by a reverence for the laws, or respect for the claims of ancestry, or wedlock. To this was added, inhuman cruelty, and insatiable avarice. The youth, in general, too prone to copy after evil example, were easily contaminated by the manners of their king. At last, when every place was polluted by debauchery, rapine, and murder, and no one dared to oppose his outrageous ferocity, a convention was held by the nobles, at which some of the chiefs having ventured to speak rather freely, he ordered the principal leaders to be dragged away to execution, as seditious persons, but the multitude, who had been gathered together on the occasion, rose upon the tyrant, and murdered him, along with the ministers of his crimes, when he had scarcely finished the third year of his reign. In honour of his father, his body was allowed to be interred in a sepulchre, but the carcasses of the rest were cast out unburied.

XXIII. MOGALDUS.

XXIX. After Luctacus, his nephew, Mogaldus, grandson of Gal-dus, in the maternal line,* was elected king. In the beginning of his reign, he was equal to the best of kings, but as he grew older, becoming tainted by his connexion with vicious advisers, he easily declined into the manners of his uncle. At first, that he might more readily cure the public morals, corrupted by the vicious manners of the preceding king, he cultivated peace with his neighbours. He carefully revived the ancient religious ceremonies, which had been neglected, drove the ministers of his debaucheries, from his presence; and by the advice of the aged counsellors, he restored all the ancient usages, which proceedings procured for him the affection of his people, and the respect of his neighbours. When the king had finished his internal arrangements, he turned his attention to war. He prohibited the Romans from entering within the boundaries of his kingdom, defended the Picts from their attacks by his auxiliaries, and so shook their authority among the Britons, by some successful engagements, that they, encouraged by the hope of obtaining their freedom, flew in many places, to arms. And this hope was strengthened by Hadrian's having withdrawn Julius Severus, a stern and skilful warrior, from Britain, and sent him to Syria, to suppress a sedition among the Jews. The disturbances, however, increasing in Britain, Hadrian himself, passed over from Gaul into the island; but being more inclined to peace than war, and desirous, rather, to preserve what he already possessed, than anxious to extend the limits of the empire, the emperor, when he had arrived as far as York, and beheld all the districts beyond it laid waste by the ravages of war, in order more particularly to inspect the situation of the country, removed his camp to the river Tyne. Here, on being informed by the veterans, who had accompanied Agricola almost to the extreme boundary of Britain, that the reduction of the

* Mogaldus. It is mentioned, as a peculiarity in the Pictish kingdom, that the succession, was by election from the maternal, in preference to the paternal, descendants of the royal house, the sacred blood being deemed most secure from taint, or dubiety, by that arrangement.

remaining part of the island would be a work of greater labour than advantage, he erected a rampart and ditch, between the friths of the rivers, Tyne, and Esk, extending upwards of eighty miles, and by it shut out the Scots and Picts, from the Provincials, and having settled the state of the province, he returned to the Continent.

xxx. Although many traces of this wall still remain, I am astonished to find no mention made of it by Bede, especially, as it is noticed by *Ælius Spartanus*, among the Latins, in his life of Hadrian, and by *Herodian*, among the Greeks, in his life of Severus; nor can I persuade myself that Bede fell into the mistake, which many yet labour under, of supposing that this rampart was not built by Hadrian, but by Severus. The Roman province being thus pacified, and the incursions of their neighbours repressed, a long peace was observed between them both; the Britons cheerfully enjoying their respite, and the Scots, and the Picts, dividing among themselves the lands which had been cut off from the province, as a lawful prey. But that peace which diminishes the strength of the body by idleness and inactivity, also weakens the powers of the mind, by the blandishments, and alluring fascinations of pleasure. *Mogaldus*, always invincible in arms, now at ease, became forgetful of his former love of glory, and seemed anxious only for pre-eminence in vice. Besides other infamous transactions, injurious to the public, he enacted that most iniquitous law, that the property of all condemned persons should be confiscated to his exchequer, and no part of it allowed for the support of the culprits' wives or children. This law, although its injustice and inhumanity was then acknowledged, and is still acknowledged, yet, by the lords of the treasury, who ever pimp for the gratification of royal avarice, it is even at this day defended. *Mogaldus*, when he had become by his vices, equally hateful to his nobles and the people, perceiving that he was incapable of resisting the universal combination against him, while endeavouring to escape to some place of safety with a few companions, was taken and slain, after having reigned thirty-six years, about the sixth year of the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius.

XXIV. CONARUS.

XXXI. Conarus, the son of Mogaldus, who succeeded his father, entered on his government by an accursed beginning, carried it on in a flagitious manner, and closed it at last, by an unhappy end. He was not only acquainted with the conspiracy against his parent, but was even a principal conspirator. A war, however, which very opportunely broke out at the commencement of his reign, for a time concealed his vices. The Britons, having passed beyond the wall of Hadrian, violently carried off a great number of captives and cattle; on which, Conarus, communicating his intentions, and uniting his army with the Picts, they, in conjunction, broke through the rampart in various places, and wasted the fields of the Britons in every direction, till at length, having encountered the enemy, a great and sanguinary action took place, between them, and the Romans and the Britons, in which the slaughter being nearly equal on both sides, a truce was agreed on, till next year. The Roman general, because he had not obtained a complete victory, considered himself vanquished. Therefore, as his own forces were weakened, and he placed but little confidence in the Britons, who seemed to derive hopes of liberty from his misfortune, he sent to Antoninus Pius, for re-enforcements, throwing the blame, of violating the peace, upon the Scots and Picts, and accusing the Britons as the cause of his disaster. Lollius Urbicus, being, in consequence, sent as lieutenant-general by the emperor, vanquished the enemy in a great battle, and drove them beyond the rampart, which he again repaired. After this, a cessation of arms took place, as if by tacit agreement. The Romans were satisfied by placing a number of garrisons in the neighbourhood, to prevent the enemy from plundering the country; and Conarus, who loved nothing in the war but its licentiousness, hastened home, that he might, during the peace, devote himself entirely to his pleasures. Immediately, the vices which he had concealed, in order to court the favour of the people, burst forth in their native deformity. Thinking that he had conciliated the affection of the nation by his dissimulation, he expended, so profusely upon his luxury and licentiousness, the treasure his an-

cestors had collected with great labour, that, in a short time, he was reduced to extreme indigence. In these circumstances, having called an assembly, he harangued them greatly on the necessary magnificence of kings, and complained much of the public poverty, covering his own vices with the honourable names of splendour and elegance, and insisted strongly that every man should be compelled to render an account of the amount of his property, in order that a moderate tax might be levied upon it. To this speech, which met with a very ungracious reception, it was replied, that it was a measure of too much importance, to be hurriedly carried into effect, and ought, therefore, to be delayed.

XXXII. A short time having been obtained for deliberation, when the particular opinion of each was demanded, it was easily apparent, that this new method of raising an indefinite sum of money, had not originated with any of the nobles, but was the invention of some courtly sycophant. It was then resolved that the king should be put into confinement, as incapable of reigning, until, upon his resigning the kingdom, another should be chosen in his stead. On being assembled again, next day, he, who was first called upon to deliver his opinion, in a long speech, inveighed keenly against the former conduct of the king: Pimps, parasites, musicians, and a crowd of prostitutes, were not, he said, the proper ministers of a kingdom; useless in war, they were oppressive in peace, expensive, infamous, and despicable! The complaint, too, was false that the royal revenues were inadequate to the expenditure, for, upon them, many former kings, renowned in war, and formidable to their enemies, had lived honourably and splendidly in peace; but, if the public income was too limited for his extravagance, the deficiency ought to be supplied, not from the plunder of the citizens, but by his domestic economy; a man should regulate his expense, not by his desires, which are insatiable, but, according to his income, and the wants of nature. Therefore, he thought these villains on whom the public money had been squandered, on whose account the king had harassed honest men, spoiling their goods, and even putting them to death, ought to be compelled by law, or, even torture, to restore the property which they

had amassed from the spoliation of others, by their vile flattery; and, that the king should be kept in confinement, until another could be substituted, who should not only accustom himself to a sober life, but teach others, by his example, to live frugally, and hardily, according to the custom of the country, and transmit to posterity the discipline we had received from our ancestors. This oration, harsh as it was, appeared still harsher to ears unaccustomed to hear such freedom of speech; nor did the king attempt gently to bend or to soothe the irritated minds of the assembly, but, by ferocious threats, he rather more violently inflamed and exasperated them, and amid the quarrel and altercation which ensued, he was seized by some of the bystanders, and thrust into a cell, with a few of his retainers.

XXXIII. The courtly authors of his injurious counsels, were immediately led to execution; and, lest any greater disturbance should arise, from the bonds of government being loosened, Argadus, a man of noble birth was created viceroy, until the people should be assembled to choose a new king. Argadus, at first, managed the public administration with the greatest equity, and obtained high praise for his moderation; but, being corrupted by prosperity, he forfeited almost all the esteem he had gained by his former life; for, fomenting intestine seditions, and strengthening his authority by foreign aid, allying himself with the Pictish nobility, from among whom he took a wife for himself, and to whom he disposed of his daughters in marriage, he began evidently to aim at the crown. These charges being brought against him, in a public assembly, he was keenly upbraided for having so quickly degenerated; convinced that the charges were true, and overwhelmed with shame, he burst into tears; as soon, however, as he was able to speak, finding it impossible to clear himself of the accusation, he appealed to their compassion, and deprecated punishment, promising, that if he should obtain pardon, he would immediately endeavour, by his uprightness and diligence, to correct whatever he had done amiss through mistake. When he thus humbly supplicated the nobles, their indignation was turned into compassion, and they ordered that he should retain the government, and himself appoint his own

punishment, for, to them, his sincere repentance would be sufficient. Thenceforward, Argadus collected the most prudent men around him, did nothing without their advice, and during the remainder of his magistracy, performed many actions highly advantageous to the public; but, particularly, he restrained the arbitrary proceedings of the provincial judges, and forbade them to pronounce sentence upon any crime, without complete previous investigation. Having banished, or executed, the most daring offenders, he corrected the public manners, which had been corrupted by long licentiousness, not only by the pains of law, but, likewise, by his own example. In the midst of these transactions, Conarus died, fourteen years after he had succeeded to the throne. His disgraceful life being finished, partly by vexation, and partly by ill health occasioned by confinement.

XXV. ETHODIUS.

xxxiv. Ethodius, the sister's son of Mogaldus, was raised to the throne in the room of Conarus. Immediately on his succession, in an assembly of his nobles, he highly extolled Argadus, covered him with honours, heaped upon him the most ample rewards, and committed to him the chief government of the state. He, then, according to ancient custom, performed the circuit of all the counties of his kingdom, and afterward passed over to the Æbudæ. Argadus, who had been previously sent to quell an insurrection, in a short time brought the leaders as prisoners to the king, and, the disturbances being tranquillised, he returned to Albium; on which, the Islanders, freed from instant terror, and excited by false rumours of a foreign war, being besides, more irritated than subdued by the punishment of the ringleaders, began, once more, to be tumultuous. Argadus was, therefore, again sent to repress them, and they, trusting to the assistance of the Picts and Irish, were not tardy in coming to an engagement, in which, Argadus being surrounded, was treacherously slain. This disaster caused the king to postpone all his other business, and proceed to the Islands in person, where, by occasional skirmishes, and incessant attacks, he so harassed the rebels, that they, who were inferior in strength, in order to

obtain security from the advantage of ground, threw themselves into a valley surrounded on every side by precipitous rocks, and to which there was only one narrow entrance. Ethodius, perceiving the grand error of the situation, posted guards in all the passable avenues, and drew a ditch and rampart in front of the main entrance; having thus reduced them to extremity, they were forced at last to submit to the unlimited discretion of the king, who would grant them pardon only on condition that they should surrender two hundred, whom he should select along with their leader, and the rest, after delivering up their arms, might return to their homes. The punishment of those who were given up, which was almost instantly inflicted, nearly produced a new sedition; for, the common soldiers, filled with indignation at this cruel spectacle, when they wanted arms, rashly seized stones, which they threw at the king's party, nor was the tumult suppressed without much bloodshed. Ethodius having restored tranquillity everywhere, made a tour throughout the whole of the kingdom, for the purpose of promoting the equal distribution of justice. He delighted, during peace, to enjoy the amusement of hunting, and made many laws respecting it, several of which are still in force. According to the custom of the Scottish chieftains, the king kept an Irish harper in his bedchamber during the night, and by him was murdered, in revenge for some relation whom he had ordered to be put to death. The assassin when led forth to execution, so far from being terrified at the appearance of torture, seemed rather to undergo it with a species of joy, as one who had done his duty, and considered the punishment as a part of his reward.

XXVI. SATRAEL.

xxxv. Ethodius being thus cut off after a reign of thirty years, and his son not yet capable of ascending the throne, Satrael, his brother, was elected. Of a callous and depraved disposition, he wished to establish the succession in his own family, by the destruction of the children of Ethodius, to accomplish which, he commenced with destroying by false accusations his nobles and all who had been dear to the former monarch, then having struck terror as he imagined into the minds of the common

people by the murder of the chiefs, he began to oppress them, which speedily increased the hatred against him, shook his authority, and excited seditions; as he durst not venture abroad to repress these, being fully aware of the public odium he had incurred, he was strangled in his own house at night by his servants, after a reign of four years.

XXVII. DONALD.

XXXVI. Donald, another brother of Ethodius', was raised to the throne in the room of Satrael, whose numerous virtues were as great or rather greater than the vices of his predecessor, and these virtues were rendered more amiable by his love of justice being tempered with mercy. Having, by the weight of his authority and the speedy infliction of punishment, quelled all intestine commotions, he thought that the youth, apt to become wanton through idleness, and enervated by luxury, would be rendered more robust by exercise and labour, and more capable of resisting the force of the enemy; he, therefore, caused a levy to be made, and so accustomed them to a military life by constant drilling, that in a short time his recruits were brought to equal the veterans in steadiness. This plan he was enabled to carry more fully into effect by the external peace, which his kingdom for some time enjoyed. The Roman soldiers, who had mutinied some years before, demanded another emperor in room of Commodus, and having fixed upon Ælius Pertinax, who had been sent to quell them, instead of acting against the Scots and the Picts, turned their arms against each other. It was of advantage, too, for the preservation of peace, that Donald, first of all the Scottish kings, was converted to the Christian faith,* although neither he nor several of the succeeding kings, together with a great part of the nobility who favoured them, were able to eradicate wholly the ancient heathen rites. But the expedition of the emperor Severus, which took place during his reign, overturned all his institutions, public and private. For, that emperor, a skilful and experienced general intending to subdue the whole island, led into Britain a more powerful body of forces than any of the Romans had ever

* Vide Note, on ch. lii.

hitherto done. He had, besides, other reasons for this expedition; his sons were corrupted by the luxuries of the metropolis, and his army enervated by inactivity, for which evils he thought military labour would be a remedy. By his arrival the disturbances which were on the point of breaking out, were averted; and the Scots and Picts, leaving the countries in the vicinity of the province, betook themselves again to their fastnesses.

XXXVII. Severus, that he might at once put an end to all British wars, led his army through vast wilds, and those places which had been deserted by their inhabitants, directly against the Caledonians; but although there were no opponents who dared to face him in the field, yet, on account of the severity of the climate, his toils were excessive, while he cut down woods, levelled hills, formed roads through marshes, and covered the rivers with bridges. In the mean time the enemy, who could not meet such an immense multitude in battle array, scattered their flocks in various directions in the route of the Romans, in order that, allured by the plunder, they might be drawn to a distance from the main body of the army; besides those who thus dispersed fell into these ambushes, numbers were destroyed by the perpetual rains, or, when wearied with marching, and incapable of proceeding, were killed by their comrades, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Nor would he desist from his undertaking, until he had reached the farthest end of the island, although, according to Dion, there were not less than fifty thousand men lost, from the time they commenced their march. Severus himself, although he was in ill health during almost the whole of the expedition, and was carried about in a covered litter, yet, by his incredible perseverance, he forced the enemy to sue for conditions of peace, and surrender a great part of their territory. He fixed the bounds of the Roman empire by a rampart, erected between the friths of Forth and Clyde, where Agricola had formerly determined the limits of the province.*

* The industry and research of Buchanan, and the rational light which he first threw upon the antiquities of his country, are apt to be undervalued by those who estimate the worth of his works by the ease with which the subsequent labours of others enable us to follow his track, and correct his mistakes.

This rampart where it touched the river Carron, had a garrison or fortress, which, by its situation and the termination of a number of roads there, had the appearance of a small city, which some of our writers falsely imagine to have been Camelodunum, but it more probably was the city Bede calls

The wall which he here ascribes to Severus, is *now* known to have been built by Lollius Urbicus, the general who successfully governed Britain, under Antoninus Pius. This spot had been first marked out by a line of forts erected between the friths of Clyde and Forth by Agricola; but the frontier was soon lost, and Hadrian, on his coming into Britain, [as mentioned ch. xxx.] constructed a rampart between the Solway and the Tyne. Antoninus, however, having recovered the first barrier, this wall was constructed about twenty years after. Buchanan did not live long enough to be acquainted with these truths, it was the discovery of one inscription which enabled Cambden to have a glimpse of the fact; the successive discoveries of many monumental stones by digging up the foundation of the wall, have shown the whole circumstances of the time when this singular fence was made, and by whom; the university of Glasgow engraved a large collection of stone monuments in their library, which often mention the name of Antoninus—one of them, that of Lollius Urbicus. Timothy Pont first examined these antiquities in the age of Cambden; Sir Robert Sibbald, a century afterwards; Gordon, in 1725; Horsley, soon after; and General Roy, an engineer, 1755. From their investigations it appears this rampart consisted of a vast ditch on the outward, which was generally about 20 feet deep and 40 feet wide, and which there is some cause for believing might have been filled with water as occasion required; next, of a wall within the ditch which was upwards of 20 feet high and 24 feet thick, composed of earth on a stone foundation, and this ditch and rampart were strengthened at both the extremities and throughout the whole extent by 21 forts, there being one station at each extremity of it, and one at the end nearly of every two miles. A military road as a necessary appendage run along inside the fortifications from end to end. Capitolinus, a writer of the 3d century, speaking of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, says, he subdued the Britons by Lollius Urbicus his Lieutenant, and removed the barbarians further off by another turf wall, *muro cespitilio*, drawn across the island, alluding to the previous wall of Hadrian. *The WALL of SEVERUS*, which was a *third*, was erected between the Solway and Tyne, upon the site or nearly parallel with Hadrian's; which, Chalmers insists, he built *before* he marched against the Scots, and which Pinkerton says, "If any writer were to deny that he ever built any wall at all, it would be difficult to answer him." All, however, agree to admit that he did build a wall, and that it was near Newcastle; and I think it by no means improbable that he repaired the former rampart of Antonine for Herodian, as quoted by Mr. Nimmo, says, "the army [Severus's] passed over friths, and the ramparts which had been thrown up as boundaries and fences to the empire;" and, it must be observed, *he* did not give up the ter-

Guidi. Only a few years before this was written, remains of the ditches and walls, and likewise of the streets, were visible; nor even yet are the walls so completely destroyed, or the vestiges so indistinct as not to be traced in many places, and in the earth, on being but slightly dug, square stones are discovered, which the owners of the land in the vicinity use in

ritory between the wall at Newcastle, and the old rampart, but his son. If this supposition be allowed, it easily reconciles the "palpable contradiction" of his historians, who assert, both that he built the wall and acquired a territory. Nimmo's *Stirlingshire*—*Caledonia* by Chalmers—*Pinkerton's Enquiry*—and *Statist. Acct. of Kilsyth, Falkirk, &c.*

† The expedition of Severus was fixed upon by M'Pherson as the era of Ossian and his heroes, but not the slightest hint of their existence appears in any thing bearing the shape of either fabulous or veritable history, or in the romantic traditions connected with still later periods; nor do the poems, themselves, reflect the smallest light on the manners, the transactions, the religion, or the language of the people among whom they are said to have been composed and admired. It would, perhaps, be esteemed, by all who enquire into Scottish history, a gratuitous task to enter upon a laborious examination of the authenticity of productions which have only an imaginary connexion with our annals, when there are so many problems in our records which have some verisimilitude, and are yet unsolved. I believe that the opinion of the public, even of the Scottish public, at last coincides pretty nearly with what the most sceptical always allowed, and what all, except the very credulous, are now willing to grant, that the names, the traditionary fables, and a few passages of old ballads which were current in the Highlands, were adopted by M'Pherson, and that the rest was supplied by the nominal translator who borrowed and imitated very liberally the most beautiful passages from poets of every country, ancient and modern, sacred and profane. To those who wish to see the subject fairly and fully examined, I would recommend Mr. Laing's dissertation at the end of his history of Scotland, from which I extract that obvious objection which has always appeared to me to be unanswerable,—the impossibility of preserving such a work for upwards of fifteen hundred years by oral tradition. It is indeed strange, says Hume in a letter to Gibbon, that any man of sense should have imagined it possible that above twenty thousand verses, along with numberless historical facts, could have been preserved by oral tradition during fifty generations, by the rudest, perhaps, of all the civilized nations, the most necessitous, the most turbulent, and the most unsettled. To estimate the full force of this argument, adds Laing, "let us remember that three-fourths of the civilized world have been employed since the era of Fingal, in the recitation of poems neither so long nor so intricate as Ossian's, and consider how small a portion of the Psalms or Liturgy can be preserved by memory, much less transmitted by oral tradition for a single generation.

the erection of their houses ; the inscriptions, too, that have been decyphered indicate it to have been of Roman workmanship. The magnitude of the design is evidenced by these words of Ælius Spartianus—Britain, and it is the greatest ornament of his empire, he hath fortified by a wall [*Muro*] drawn across the whole island to both sides of the ocean ; which words appear to me to imply, not a rampart, as Bede thinks, but a wall, especially as the work honoured with such an eulogy, is not half as large as the rampart of Hadrian ; and besides, at the nearest point, this fortification is eighty miles distant from the work of Hadrian.

XXXVIII. There remain—unless I am mistaken—other evidences of this peace ; a little below the fortress of which I have spoken, on the opposite bank of the Carron, stands a round edifice formed of quadrangular stones, without lime or cement, about the size of a moderate pigeon-house, open at the top, and perfectly entire, except the upper lintel of the door, where the name of the builder, and designation of the work, is believed to have been inscribed, which was destroyed by Edward I. king of England, with the same malice with which he endeavoured to deface, as much as lay in his power, all the other ancient Scottish monuments. This building, some have falsely pronounced to have been a temple of Claudius Cæsar, but I, according to every conjecture which I am able to form, believe it to have been a temple of Terminus. There are likewise, on the left bank of the same water, two small earthen mounds, evidently artificial, situate in a small plain ; a considerable part of the smaller, which lies farthest west, has been swept away by the overflowing of the river ; the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, still call them Duni pace. Peace then, being thus procured for that division of the island, and every thing tranquillised, Donald died, having governed the realm, twenty and one years.

XXVIII. ETHODIUS II.

XXXIX. Ethodius II. a son of the former Ethodius, succeeded Donald, a man almost stupid, at least of a more sluggish disposition than was adapted to the government of so fierce a people, against whom, when the chiefs had combined to-

gether, such was their respect for the race of Fergus, that having found Ethodius only indolent, and not guilty of any flagrant crime, they left him the name of king, but appointed lieutenants for each district, who should administer justice; and by their equity and moderation, Scotland enjoyed a degree of tranquillity, which the land had never before possessed; for not only were crimes punished, but even the immoderate avarice of the king, was rendered harmless to the people. The king in the twenty-first year of his reign, was slain in a family quarrel.

XXIX. ATHIRCUS.

XL. Athircus, son of the late sovereign, showing more genius than could have been expected from his years, was made king. By his skill in horsemanship, and military exercises, his liberality, and courtesy, the young monarch attracted universal love; but, as he advanced to manhood, declining into vice, by his profound avarice, irritability, luxury, and sloth, he soon deprived himself of the esteem of the virtuous, and the more he gratified the youth by his flagitious manners, so much the more did he grievously offend their fathers. At last, a conspiracy of the nobles was formed against him by Nathalocus, a nobleman of the first rank, whose daughter he had debauched, then beaten with rods, and afterward delivered over for prostitution to the vile herd by whom he was surrounded, and, having in vain endeavoured to defend himself by force, deserted, even by his servants, who detested his vices, he fell by his own hand, in the twelfth year of his reign. The king being destroyed, Dorus, either because he was his brother, or because he had been the minister of his crimes, fearing lest the nobles, while their minds were inflamed with the recent provocation, should wreak their vengeance upon the whole royal race, fled, and carried with him the king's young sons, Findochus, Carantius, and Donald. Nor was he mistaken in his opinion, for Nathalocus, who was particularly affected by his individual injury, not content with the exile of Dorus, sent messengers after him, who were commissioned to assassinate him, together with his brother's children. These messengers coming to the Pict's country, for the royal youths

had chosen that place as their residence during their exile, deceived by his stature and appearance, secretly slew another person for Dorus.

XXX. NATHALOCUS.

XLI. Nathalocus having thus, as he imagined, removed those whom he feared as the chief obstacles to his design, was the first usurper, it is said, who ambitiously sought to seize the crown of the Scots, to which the majority of the nobility being adverse, he was made king by a party he had corrupted by promises, and bribes. Nor was the government so iniquitously obtained, much better managed, for, suspecting the nobility, whom he had found opposed to him in the assemblies of the states, he committed the whole administration to plebeians, whose poverty and audacity made them the ready instruments of any crime. To his original suspicions more serious apprehensions were added. By some intercepted letters, addressed to his principal nobility, he learned, that Dorus and the children of Athircus were still alive, and that the latter were educating among the Picts as the heirs of the kingdom. In order to avert this danger, he invited those of the nobles whom he principally suspected to come to him, as if he intended to consult them on public affairs; and when they were brought together, he threw the whole into prison, and ordered them to be strangled the next night. But what he hoped would put an end to his fear, proved the signal for conspiracies; because the friends of those who were murdered, being not less afraid for themselves than grieved at the calamity of their relations, every where rose to arms against him. Whilst he was endeavouring to collect an army to meet his opponents, he was killed by one of his own household, in about the twelfth year of his reign. Respecting the manner of his death, some of our writers add a circumstance, which bears a greater resemblance to fable than to truth. They say, that when he by whom the usurper was slain, was sent to a diviner, to inquire respecting the victory, the life of the king, and the fate of the kingdom; he received for answer, from a certain old woman, that the king would not live long, yet his danger would not arise from an enemy, but from one of his

domestics. When he urged, by whom? the old woman replied, he will be destroyed by thyself. Having cursed the witch, he returned home, and reflecting that it would neither be possible to conceal the answer, nor safe to tell it, lest he should render himself suspected by the king, a wretch governed wholly by his fears, it appeared safer to him, to sacrifice the tyrant to the general wish, than to preserve him safe, at the imminent risk of his own life. He then returned straight home, and having obtained a secret interview with Nathalocus, for the purpose of informing him of the answer of the diviner, he put him to death, in the twelfth year of his reign, delivering his country from slavery, and himself from danger.

XXXI. FINDOCHUS.

XLII. When the death of the late king was divulged, the sons of Athircus were recalled, and Findochus, now in the flower of youth, chosen as his successor, who, besides being descended from the royal family, was recommended by his many natural accomplishments, his elegance of form, his stature and strength, but still more by the numerous dangers he had encountered. Nor were the hopes conceived of him fallacious. In his common deportment he was extremely courteous, upright in pronouncing judgment, and faithful to his promises. Donald of the Isles, however, impatient of peace, invaded Albium with a large body of forces, and after spreading prodigious slaughter through the villages, and collecting a vast quantity of booty, he returned home. The pretext for this was, to revenge the death of king Nathalocus. Findochus instantly collected an army, passed over to the island of Isla, and having overcome Donald in battle, forced him to flee to his ships. Many were killed in the field, and many were drowned, while they sought, in a tumultuous manner, to get on board their vessels. Donald himself, was received into a small skiff, and attempted to fly, but a multitude pressing into the bark, upset it, and he perished. The Islanders, however, unbroken by this carnage on the departure of the king, having obtained assistance from Ireland, renewed the war, and, under the command of Donald, the son of the former Donald, made another descent, and carried off a great quantity of booty.

Findochus again landed with troops in the Æbudæ, and passed through all the islands, inflicting severe punishment upon the robbers; and, overturning the fortifications in which they were accustomed to seek refuge, he brought away so much plunder, and put to death so many of the people, that he rendered a number of the islands almost desert. On his departure, Donald, who had fled, came back again, but when he endeavoured to recruit his army, he perceived his strength so weakened, that he was constrained by necessity to give up all attempts at carrying on war openly, and turn his attention to stratagem and deceit. When he dared not trust himself to the king, notwithstanding he had pledged the public faith for his security, he sent two of his intimate friends, crafty, and daring fellows, to the palace, with secret instructions. These, although they boasted of their lineage, and complained loudly, of the injuries they had received from Donald, made not the smallest impression on the king; they therefore, addressed themselves to Carantius, his brother, a frivolous, and ambitious prince, by whom they were received into the most intimate familiarity, and made acquainted with the most important matters of state. When they had sounded his disposition, they did not hesitate to communicate to him their secret orders for murdering the king. He then, considering the kingdom, procured by the crime and risk of others, as certain, heaped upon them every species of favour. Every thing being prepared for the preconcerted deed, the time was seized when the king was alone, all his attendants being attracted by the sight of an unusually large wild boar, and while one of the villains was pretending to amuse him with a story of his adventures, the other struck him on the breast with a hunting spear, and killed him. Upon this atrocious act being perpetrated, a great crowd assembled, some of whom ran to raise up the dying king, and others pursued the assassins, who were taken and carried to punishment. On being previously put to the torture, they confessed that it was by the contrivance of Donald, and the wickedness of Carantius, who, on purpose to dissemble, was then at a distance, that the murder had been effected. Carantius fled, first to the Britons, but the cause of his exile becoming well known, he was ren-

dered detestable to his host, and withdrew to the Roman camp.

XXXII. DONALD II.

XLIII. This most excellent man and king being killed, by the detestable baseness of his brother, in the eleventh year of his reign, was succeeded by Donald, the youngest of the three brothers. He, when preparing to avenge the death of his brother, heard that Donald, the Islander, had over-run Moray, not as a robber, but as a king. Having issued a proclamation, ordering the rest to follow, he, with a few who were accidentally ready, marched direct for the enemy. The Islander, being informed by his spies how small a number of men were with the king, set out to meet him, and, marching night and day, came up with him before he had even heard of his approach. The king, thus taken unawares, when he perceived that he could not possibly avoid an engagement, contested the battle more vigorously than could have been expected from his numbers. At last, vanquished by the overwhelming superiority of the enemy, and covered with wounds, he, along with thirty of the first nobility, were taken prisoners. Three thousand men were killed, and two thousand captured. In almost three days after this defeat, the king died, either of grief for his misfortune, or of the severe wounds he had received, having scarcely finished the first year of his reign.

XXXIII. DONALD III. THE ISLANDER.

XLIV. Upon the death of the late king, Donald, the Islander, who had before assumed the royal title without any authority, now, trusting to the fears of the nobles, governed as if he had had a legitimate right, for they, afraid lest he should kill their captive relations, which he constantly threatened, dared not to move. Raving like a madman, the tyrant was not satisfied with prohibiting by edict, the use of arms to all except his own servants, nor with massacring himself the nobility, in whose extinction he believed the stability of his government to consist, but setting at variance the survivors of his cruelties, he delighted in beholding their mutual slaughter, for he esteemed their death his gain, and thought himself delivered from

as many enemies as there were nobles who fell on either side. Nor did he dread any thing more than their agreement; wherefore, he kept himself almost constantly at home, and conscious of the injuries he had every where inflicted, fearing all, and feared by all, he rarely showed himself in public. At last, in the twelfth year passed amid such wretchedness, an avenger of the public wrongs was discovered, Crathilinthus, the son of king Findochus. He had been secretly preserved by his nurse, while he was believed long ago to have perished, but having obtained an unequalled degree of strength, and of wisdom, concealing his extraction and name, he was received, first into the palace, then into the familiarity of the king, and soon, by the sprightliness of his wit, became his chief favourite. At last, every thing having succeeded according to his most sanguine expectation, he discovered to a select few who he was, and what he intended, and when he had collected around him a proper band for accomplishing his purpose, a fit opportunity occurring, he killed Donald, and withdrew secretly with his associates

XXXIV. CRATHILINTHUS.

XLV. When the death of the tyrant was made known, both the action itself, and the person by whom it was accomplished, occasioned the greatest public joy. Crathilinthus, when his ancestry was proved, was unanimously declared king with an enthusiasm never before equalled, as being not only the liberator, but the preserver of his country. Immediately on his ascending the throne, he, with universal approbation, caused the children and relations of the usurper to be put to death, that he might destroy, as it were, tyranny by the roots. He then went over the whole of the kingdom, according to the established custom, for the equitable distribution of justice, and endeavoured as much as in his power to repair the mischief which Donald had occasioned. Peace being thus restored at home and abroad, he resolved to enjoy it, according to the manner of the country, in the diversion of hunting. While he pursued his sport on the Grampian hills, near the boundaries of the Picts, he entertained magnificently all the Pictish youth who joined the chase, and wishing to extend the amity which arose from their

ancient alliances, and the general peace, he studiously cultivated the most intimate familiarity with them. But this affability of Crathilinthus, had almost occasioned his ruin, for the Picts having privately stolen a remarkable dog, of which the king of the Scots was exceedingly fond, and detained it concealed among them, the keeper of the king's dogs, on receiving information of the place where he was hid, went thither, and endeavouring to fetch it away, was killed. An uproar being occasioned by his death, a number of both nations ran together, and a sharp combat ensued, in which a great many were killed, among whom fell not a few of the young nobility of each kingdom, and thus laid the foundation of a cruel war, for, from that day both nations harassed each other with hostile incursions, and would not desist till they met in conflict with regular armies; nor could peace be re-established upon any terms, although both the kings most ardently desired it. They were not ignorant to how much danger these dissensions exposed them, the Romans and Britons being their constant enemies, yet, the desire of mutual revenge so infuriated the two nations, that, whilst every one prosecuted his own private quarrel, they despised the impending danger common to them all; and had not Carausius, a Roman exile, of obscure birth but high military renown, interposed, the conflict must have ended in the extermination of both. This Carausius was sent by Dioclesian to maritime Bononia,* to protect Belgic Armorica from the incursions of the Franks and the Saxons; where having frequently captured many barbarians with all their plunder, as he would neither restore it to the provincials nor send it to the emperor, a suspicion arose that he permitted the barbarians to ravage these districts on purpose to enrich himself by intercepting them in their retreat, and seizing their spoil. Being ordered, on this account, to be put to death, by Maximian, he assumed the purple and took possession of Britain; and that he might strengthen himself against Bassianus the Roman lieutenant, he reconciled the dissensions between the Scots and the Picts, and entered into a treaty of alliance with them. When the Romans had in vain endeavoured to

* The sea coast of Boulogne, or the town now called Boulogne sur la mere.

subdue this skilful commander, and he had restored to the Scots and Picts their ancient possessions, he was slain, after a reign of seven years, by Allectus, his fellow-soldier. Allectus, when he had governed three years, being killed by Asclepiodotus, Britain was restored to the Roman empire, in the tenth year after it had been dissevered; but neither Asclepiodotus, nor Constantius Chlorus, who succeeded him, performed any thing worthy of notice in Britain, unless it was, that the latter begat, of Helena his concubine, Constantine, who afterwards succeeded to the empire. In the midst of these transactions Crathilinthus died, after he had ruled the Scottish nation twenty-four years.

XXXV. FINCORMACHUS.

XLVI. Fincormachus, cousin-german to Crathilinthus, enjoyed after him the kingdom of the Scots. He obtained many splendid victories over the Romans, in conjunction with the Picts and Britons, and some without any external aid. At length, being broken down by civil wars at home, and constant unremitting struggles abroad, the Romans became inclined to peace, and the Scots, too, willingly embraced repose. Freed from external cares, the Scots, now, chiefly exerted themselves for the promotion of the Christian religion, to which they were incited by the following occurrence. Multitudes of the Britons, fearing the cruelty of Dioclesian towards the Christians, sought refuge among them, of whom many illustrious for the purity of their doctrine and the uprightness of their lives remained in Scotland, and led a solitary life, with such a reputation for sanctity among all ranks, that, upon their decease, the cells they had inhabited were changed into churches, and from that custom it still continues that the ancient Scots calls churches, cells. This species of religious they called Culdees, and the name and the institution remained, until a more recent kind of monks, divided into a number of orders, expelled them, which latter, were as much their inferiors in doctrine and in piety, as their superiors in riches, ceremonies, and other external rites, by which the eye is captivated, and the mind deceived. Fincormachus having settled the affairs of Scotland with the utmost equity, and introduced

among his subjects the cultivation of milder pursuits, departed in the forty-seventh year of his reign.

XXXVI. ROMACHUS.

XLVII. Upon the death of the king, a very serious contention arose among the three cousin-germans, descended from three brothers of Crathilinthus, Romachus, Fethelmachus, and Angusianus, or rather Æneanus. Romachus was recommended, because his father was the eldest of the three brothers of Crathilinthus, and his mother of the royal blood of the Picts, and because he was himself of a bold disposition, and likely to procure alliances. For Angusianus, were urged his age and experience, his amiable manners, and the favour of the people, but above all, that Fethelmachus, who had in the beginning been his competitor, was now a supporter of his claim. On account of the warlike appearance these dissensions assumed, nothing could be done in the first assembly, and on the breaking up of the meeting the whole kingdom divided into two opposite factions. Romachus, inferior in the affections of the people, called in the Pictish youth, and strengthened himself by foreign aid, when Angusianus, understanding that plots were prepared for him by his opponent, rather than exist in perpetual anxiety, determined at once to commit himself to fortune; wherefore, having collected his friends, he gave battle to Romachus, and, on being vanquished, fled to the Æbudæ with Fethelmachus. Finding, however, that he could not be safe there, as he was still dreaded by the chiefs of the factions on account of his bravery, and the people, naturally venal, had been seduced by the promises of Romachus, he departed with his followers to Ireland. Romachus, seated on the throne rather by force than the will of the people, on his rival being removed, wreaked his vengeance most cruelly upon his adversaries. That he might not appear to be guided more by violence than justice, he made a circuit of the country for holding assizes; he did not, however, according to custom, ask the advice of any person, but decided all capital causes by his arbitrary will alone; having proceeded in a most sanguinary manner, he spread universal terror every where. At length, the state of affairs becoming generally hateful, a con-

spiracy of the nobility was suddenly formed, and the tyrant overthrown before he could possibly collect his forces. Being overtaken, and brought back in an attempt to fly towards the Picts, he suffered the punishment of death, in the third year of his reign, and his head fixed upon the top of a pole, was carried about as a joyful spectacle to the people.

XXXVII. ANGUSIANUS.

XLVIII. Angusianus was immediately recalled by the unanimous wish of the nation, to take upon him the government of the kingdom. On his accession, those who had been the ministers of Romachus' cruelty and avarice, fearing that they would not escape punishment under a just monarch, fled to Nectamus, king of the Picts, and urged him to take arms, to avenge the death of his relation. Angusianus, anxious for peace, often warned the Picts, by his ambassadors, of the danger in which a war would involve the two kingdoms, as the Britons were intent upon the ruin of both. But they, either trusting to their strength, or blinded by passion, seemed altogether averse to pacific counsels, and the armies advancing, a fierce conflict ensued, in which they were defeated, the king of the Picts with a few only having escaped. As soon as he recovered a little from his terror, excited by rage and shame, he levied a new army, and advanced into Caledonia. Angusianus, having again in vain endeavoured to procure peace, marched against the enemy. A battle ensued, which was most obstinately contested, the one party striving to maintain the fame they had acquired, the other to wipe away the disgrace they had incurred. At last, Angusianus being killed, the Scots were thrown into confusion, and put to flight. Nor was it a joyful victory to the Picts, who left their king, and the flower of their warriors upon the field. The loss on each side being nearly equal, a temporary peace ensued. Angusianus ruled little more than a year.

XXXVIII. FETHELMACHUS.

XLIX. Fethelmachus was placed as king, in the room of Angusianus. Ere he had scarcely reigned two years, assembling a large army, he wasted the country of the Picts, and

as soon as he was able to come up with the enemy, a battle took place, attended with immense mutual slaughter, in which the wings of the Pictish army being cut off, the main body was left defenceless, and almost wholly destroyed; yet they did not fall unrevenged. The king of the Picts died, on the third day, of the wounds he had received. The Scots, improving their victory, and having no enemy to contend with, spoiled the country on every hand; for the Picts, having received so tremendous an overthrow, dared not hazard any pitched battle, but sending out light flying detachments after the depredators, at proper times and places, prevented the stragglers from spreading very extensively. In the mean time, Hergustus, a crafty chief, accepted the command of his countrymen, and finding himself unequal in strength to the enemy, had recourse to deceit; he sent two Picts, who, by pretending that they were Scots, were to attempt the death of the king. These emissaries, accordingly, bargained with a certain musician for his murder, for persons of this profession remain during night in the bedchambers of the nobles, to soothe them to sleep, or amuse them when awake, a custom still preserved in all the British islands among the ancient Scots. Upon the appointed day, the Picts, as was agreed upon, were admitted by the musician, and secretly murdered the king; yet was not the crime so silently committed, but that the dying groans of the monarch awakened his attendants. The authors of the deed were on this pursued, and when they could not fly farther, whilst attempting to combat their pursuers with stones torn from the rock, they were taken by the servants of the king, and carried back to punishment.

XXXIX. EUGENIUS, OR EVENUS.

I. Fethelmachus being cut off in the third year of his government, Eugenius, or rather Evenus, the son of Fincormachus, succeeded. During his reign, Maximus, the Roman lieutenant, expecting to possess the whole island, if he could only destroy the two northern nations, commenced his operations by pretending friendship to the Picts. As their circumstances were the most depressed, and they were, therefore, the

more ready to listen to terms of pacification, he buoyed them up with magnificent promises, if they would persevere in their attachment to the Romans, and, besides innumerable other advantages, he offered to concede to them the whole territories of the Scots. The Picts, blinded with rage, and eager for vengeance, allured by his promises, and regardless of the future, willingly listened to the general's proposals, and, in conjunction with the Romans, ravaged the possessions of the Scots. The first engagement took place upon the banks of the Cree, a river in Galloway, where the Scots, being inferior in strength, were overcome by numbers. While they fled on all sides, the Romans, certain of victory, pursued without regularity, but in the midst of the pursuit, the troops of Argyle, and other remote districts, who had not yet joined the army, arriving in good order, fell upon the dispersed Romans and occasioned a great slaughter. Eugenius, profiting by this circumstance, rallied as many as he could of the fugitives, and held a council of war on the present state of his affairs, when finding that, with the forces he possessed, it would be hopeless to renew the engagement, he retreated into Carrick. Maximus was prevented from pursuing his victory, by the sudden arrival of a messenger with intelligence that all the interior of Britain had burst out in insurrection. The Scots, by his departure, were relieved from the greater part of their assailants; yet, although scarcely able to defend themselves, inflamed by anger, or induced by the hope of repressing, before the end of summer, by some signal defeat, their neighbouring enemies, they poured in upon the Picts, with all the force their remaining strength, or hatred could supply. Wherever they marched, they destroyed without distinction, all they met, and made terrible havock with fire and sword. Maximus, although he threatened fiercely, and talked loudly against the Scots, rejoiced equally at the mutual slaughter of both people, and afterward, at his own convenience, proceeded against the Scots, as the avenger of the injuries they had inflicted on the Picts. The Scots being now about to fight, not for glory, empire, or plunder, but for their country, life, and whatever is dear to man, led forth all who were capable of bearing arms, not the men only, but even

women, according to the national custom, and prepared for the last decisive struggle. They pitched their camp near the river Doon, not far from the enemy. The armies on both sides having formed in order of battle, the Roman auxiliaries commenced the engagement by attacking the Scots; there the one party incited by hope, and the other urged by desperation, maintained a severe, but short conflict; the Picts and Britons were repulsed with tremendous slaughter, and had not assistance opportunely arrived from the main body of the Romans, a total rout must have ensued. But Maximus bringing up the legions, the Scots, inferior in number, armour, and discipline, were driven back, and almost annihilated. King Eugenius, not wishing to survive the ruin of his army, fell in the thickest of the battle, and the greater part of the nobles died along with him, unwilling to forsake their king.

LI. Maximus, having obtained this signal victory so much sooner than he had hoped, when there scarcely remained any on whom to exercise his vengeance, in compassion, returned to his pristine clemency. In travelling over many of the Scottish districts, he received their submission, desiring them to return to the cultivation of their lands, and to be satisfied with their own, nor disturb the possessions of their neighbours. The Picts, dissatisfied at this clemency, asserted that neither the Romans, nor their allies, would ever enjoy a solid or sincere peace, while the Scots, always a restless and predatory people, were permitted to remain unmolested; nor would the British land be ever safe, while a drop of Scottish blood flowed in it; that as wild beasts, whom no kind offices could tame, nor any severities subdue, so this nation would never cease from war, till they were exterminated. Maximus, in opposition to this, replied, that according to the ancient maxims of the Roman people, many nations whom they had conquered, were not only permitted to remain unmolested, but likewise received the freedom of the state; that although they had almost subdued the whole world, they had never wholly exterminated any nation, and that now, having cut off the king of the Scots, with the flower of the Scottish youth, he would leave that people objects of compassion, rather than of terror to their neighbours. He would not yield, he said, to the Picts, in his

hatred towards the Scots, but estimating their situation justly, it was a subject of greater exultation to behold them lingering out a wretched existence, than cut off by a violent death, as it was a more severe punishment for the living, to be always wishing to die, than by dying once, to be delivered from all their misfortunes. He urged these considerations, however, not from any great affection he had for the Scots, but from detestation at the cruelty of the Picts, and likewise, anticipating the future danger which might arise to the Roman province, from the acquisition of strength they would derive, were the Scots wholly destroyed. But the Picts did not desist, till by entreaties, prayers, and gifts, they had obtained a decree that the Scots should leave Britain before a certain day, after which, all who remained should be put to death. Their country was divided between the Picts and Britons.

LII. The surviving Scots, dispersed wherever chance led them, through the *Æbudæ*, Ireland, Scandinavia, and the Cimbric Chersonesus, were every where humanely received by the inhabitants. Their priests, likewise, and monks, who were then held in the highest honour, were severely treated by the Picts, though they themselves, professed the Christian religion, being chased into all the surrounding regions. In the course of their dispersions, several of them happened to land upon the island of Iona,* one of the *Æbudæ*, and being

* This affords at least, something like a reason for St. Columba settling in Iona, and making it the chief seat of the Culdees in after times. See Note, Book V. However we dispose of the notices respecting the introduction of the Christian religion into Scotland, mentioned under the reigns of Donald, Fincormachus, and in this passage, there is no doubt of its having been introduced, at a very early period, into that part of Britain, now called Scotland, and that it had made considerable progress at this date, A. D. 104. After the close of Sacred history we have little certain information respecting the progress of Christianity where it spread in its genuine native purity, as it did so silently, and was only noticed incidentally, and for the effects it had produced; it is after it becomes in some measure secularized, that it affords materials for history. I should not have noticed Buchanan's account of its introduction into Scotland here, but to show that even the ingenious sceptics themselves, agree with our historian in his main story, for this fact, no doubter has doubted, that at, and before the time he—Buchanan—assigns for the planting of Christianity in Scotland, *there it was planted!* Let them tell us

there collected into a monastery, transmitted to posterity the great fame of their sanctity and erudition. Some of the other wanderers tormented by war, driven from their country, and despairing of a return, joining the fierce, and restless inhabitants of the Æbudæ, needy through idleness, and starving from their numbers, thinking they might dare something, collected a fleet, and passed over to Argyle, under the command of Gillon. There, while they scattered themselves in a disorderly manner, to plunder a land almost without inhabitants, they were surprised by the Picts, who had been placed in garrisons, and being surrounded, and cut off from their vessels, perished almost to a man; and their fleet being taken, was reserved to be used in war against the Islanders. Not long after, those of the Scots who had fled to Ireland, partly by the remembrance of their ancient relationship, and partly by commiseration for their misfortunes, easily induced a nation, naturally inclined to war and plunder, to lend them their assistance towards regaining their ancient inheritance. Ten thousand men being granted, they landed with them on the coast of Scotland, opposite Ireland, and by their arrival, spread terror far round the country. Overjoyed at their first success, when they consulted about the further prosecution of the war, the Scots of Albin, who were acquainted with

how? Pinkerton says, in the time of Drust, *how?* from whence? or in what manner? he is as abrupt, and as liable to suspicion, as the author he so freely condemns. Spottiswood appeals to Boethius, and David Buchanan, in his preface to Knox's history, relies upon our author. The truth is, we have no extrinsic authority, except the words of Tertullian, which at best, are but ambiguous, and, unsupported, would have proved, like the whole of the classical quotations so much controverted, every thing, or any thing. "*Hispaniarum omnes termini, et Galliarum diversæ nationes, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita.*" These are the expressions of the orator, which after all, might have only been a rhetorical flourish. But we have happily, vouchers to show that Scottish Christianity, and Romish Christianity, were primarily, two different religions, and consequently, that the tradition which assigns the Christianization of Scotland to an earlier period, than the corruptions of Rome, bears evident marks of authenticity, and these were triumphantly brought forward, in the pleadings for the independence of the Scottish church in a later age, when our sturdy ancestors made a firm stand against the encroachments of Papal tyranny, at a time that all Europe besides bent to the yoke. But this belongs to a subsequent period.

the power of the Romans, and how much they excelled all others in the knowledge of the art of war, advised them to rest satisfied with their present victory, and return home with the plunder, nor wait till the whole strength of Britain should be brought against them; and, since not all the force of Ireland, if present, would be able to cope with their army, who, by science and valour, had subdued almost the whole earth, they were not to be met by open force, but by subtlety—by seizing opportunities, and, since they could neither equal them in number, strength, nor military tactics, weary them out by constant toil, and incessant skirmishing. The Hibernian Scots, in reply, accused the Albins of having allowed the original strength of their minds to become so enfeebled, that, although they were the descendants of those who had nearly destroyed the Roman armies, they dared not now look them in the face. Some, too, among the Albin Scots, themselves, contended that the plan of the war, proposed by their countrymen, was evidently useless, as that which would only harass the enemy, and not recover the country; that success was approaching, and they should follow up the return of their good fortune. If they did so, there was no doubt but that God, who had given so prosperous a beginning to the war, would, either, by some new commotion among the Britons, or by some more urgent danger, remove the legions, and lessen the strength of their enemies; and that the opportunity now offered should be embraced, lest, afterwards, they should in vain lament their having neglected it. These sentiments having prevailed on the assembly, they rushed joyfully upon the plunder; but, whilst they, more rashly than prudently, indulged their cupidity, they were attacked suddenly by a more powerful force than their own, and the greater part of them slain.

LIII. When intelligence of this slaughter was brought to Ireland, it cut off all hopes of the return of the Scots, and rendered the Irish anxious about the preservation of their own liberty. After many deliberations, when no other alternative appeared left them, the Scoto-Hibernians deemed it expedient to send ambassadors to Britain to procure peace from the Romans, upon as moderate terms as possible. Upon their arrival, Maximus at first reproved them sharply because they

had needlessly and without the smallest injury done them, provoked the Roman arms; but upon the explanation of the ambassadors, who threw the whole blame upon the unruly multitude, he pardoned them, and a peace was concluded, stipulating, that, after that day, no enemy of the Romans should be received into Ireland, that they should abstain from all attacks upon the Roman allies, and that they should respect the majesty of the empire. The Irish having thus received more moderate conditions than they expected, returned home. Maximus, was, however, induced to grant them peace thus readily, not from any fear of the Hibernians, for he cared very little about their motions, but, because his hopes being excited towards a more important undertaking, he wished to leave Britain not only quiet, but friendly. At length, a number of armies having been destroyed, the stability of the Roman empire was shaken with the storms of civil commotion, and emperors were appointed, not legally by the senate and people, but, by the influence of the soldiery. Now, Maximus, who, by the conquest of Britain, which no other person ever before effected, had obtained a great military reputation, and had the command of a numerous army, determined to seize upon the empire, if an opportunity offered; in this hope, he treated his soldiers with every indulgence, and loaded them with frequent largesses. He consulted with the principal Britons on the most important occasions, recruited his army with Pictish youth, and committed to them the charge of the garrisons in many parts of the province; having divided between them and the Britons the Scottish possessions. He left to the Picts the free government of their ancient territories, only he exacted from them a small tribute, for a distant corner of the Scottish kingdom, as a proof, he said, that the whole of Scotland had been partly subdued, and partly tranquillized by him; and, by these arts, having entirely gained the public affection, and arranged every thing according to his desires, then, as if constrained by the army, he assumed the purple.

LIV. After his departure, Constantine, raised from the lowest military rank, solely by his high reputation, was elected general of the Britons; and he, being slain in his turn, Gratianus, a man of British descent, seized upon the government

of the Island ; but, on the death of Maximus, who was killed in Italy, and of Gratianus, who was murdered in Britain, Victorinus was sent from Rome, who governed Britain under the name of a lieutenant. He, wishing that the extension of the empire might appear as his deed, reduced the Picts into the form of a province, and ordered that they should use the Roman laws, denouncing severe punishment in case of disobedience ; and Hergustus, their king, dying in the meantime, he forbade them to choose a new one, or to obey any other magistrate than one appointed by the Roman people. This appeared to the Picts bitter slavery ; and now, when too late, they began fruitlessly to complain, that they had shamefully betrayed a nation with whom they were allied by amity and relationship, and with whom, although they might occasionally have disagreed, they had uniformly shared every danger which had arisen from a foreign enemy. These things, they said, they justly suffered, who had deprived themselves not only of assistance, but compassion ; for who could possibly lament their calamities, who recollected to what cruel extremity they had reduced their ancient friends. To this, undoubtedly, applied the old oracle, which had prophesied that the Picts would in time be destroyed by the Scots, for, having betrayed the Scots, they were now suffering the punishment, and would perish more wretchedly than they, unless it were thought more wretched to live in exile, than to endure slavery. The others, whatever their lot might be, were free ; but they themselves, were doomed to endure the severest misfortunes, and these the more heavy, because they had deservedly brought them on themselves. Wherefore, that they might have some one to whom they could apply, in order to consult respecting a cure for their calamities, they created Durstus, the son of Hergustus, king. The nobles, being assembled around him, while they eagerly looked for some remedy, bitterly lamented the hardships of slavery, for they were oppressed, not with imaginary, but with real bondage. Shut up like wild beasts within the wall of Severus, they were cut off from all human intercourse, while their young men, under the splendid title of soldiers, were led forth to be butchered. Besides the hatred of the neighbouring nations, they had incurred the bitterest

reproaches of the monks, who exclaimed, that their prayers were deservedly rejected of God, who had persecuted with such cruelty his ministers, their own brethren, and partakers of the same sacred ordinances, that they would not allow those by whom supplications might have been offered up to the Deity, to breathe the same air with them. While these reflections most grievously tormented them, their adversity recalled their minds to a sense of religion, and having experienced some relief from the pressure of their misfortunes, one way yet appeared open to regain their liberty; if the Scots were reconciled to them, even God, who was incensed at their perfidy, might become propitious. Understanding that Fergusius, a youth of the blood royal, lived in exile, in Scandinavia, they imagined, that, upon his being recalled, the rest of the Scots might be induced, by his authority, to return; they, therefore, determined to send an embassy to sound his inclination, but secretly, for fear of the Romans.*

* The expulsion of the Scots, with which this Book concludes, is now generally allowed, by the most sceptical, to have actually taken place, and, within a few years of the time mentioned by Buchanan, *Pink. Enq.* vol. ii. p. 88. If we find the grand outlines of the times said to be fabulous, confirmed always when inquired into, although we cannot substantiate the details from the want of records which may have existed, we ought not, in sound judgment, ask more, unless we can discover some hitherto concealed work of unimpeachable veracity, to which we may have recourse. A man of ingenuity may doubt any thing, and bring plausible reasons for so doing. The reign of the Pietish king, Durst, or Durstus, is also ascertained to have been A. D. 414, differing only ten years from the date of Buchanan.

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK V.*

1. **EUGENIUS** having been killed by the Romans, as already mentioned, and the whole nation driven from the country, the king's brother, named Echadius, or Ethodius, afraid of the designs of the Picts, and doubtful of his own safety, hired a vessel, and committing himself not more to the mercy of the winds than of chance, set sail for Scandinavia, † accompanied by his son Erthus, and his nephew Fergusius. When he arrived there, having obtained admission at court, he in-

* This book contains a much contested period of our history, during which it is alleged the histories of the Picts and the ancient Scots have been carelessly or intentionally blended, the very names of their king's interchanged, and their chronicles falsified by succeeding writers. In following Buchanan, all that can be done in notes, is to mark the coincidences in which the main features of his story are supported, even by those who are most violent in their opposition to his statements; and it may not be amiss to remind the reader, that the zealous advocates for new systems, require to be as carefully watched, and as suspiciously treated, as the maintainers of old. In history nothing but facts can be allowed to overturn facts, and a little evidence must be admitted as proof in opposition to none. It will not answer to call this man a dreamer, and that one a monk, and then bring forward modern languages, and modern etymologies, to prove facts and circumstances of twelve hundred years standing; for all the knowledge we have of the most ancient dialects of Britain, is but modern in comparison of the times when the Picts and Scots were separate nations. This fact, then, is admitted on all hands, that a second coming of the Scots took place under Fergus, the son of Erc, and that he founded, or restored, a kingdom in Argyle, which was at first limited nearly to Argyle and Lorn, and was the same as that formerly named Dalriada, from Reuda, vide note, p. 163. The date is disputed. Buchanan follows Fordun.

† Scandinavia. Under this name was comprehended all the countries now known by the denominations of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, &c.

formed the king who he was, whence he came, and what adverse fortune he had experienced; and his language, address, and figure, easily procuring credit to his tale, he was in a short time received into the royal confidence. In this country, Fergusius, when he grew up—his father and grandfather now dead—devoted himself wholly to military pursuits. Many expeditions being undertaken simultaneously, by the natives of the north, against the Roman empire, some forming irruptions into Hungary, and others into Gaul, Fergusius, animated equally by a love of arms and hatred to the Romans, followed the standard of the Franks, in a war against the Gauls; and after that expedition terminated rather unsuccessfully, he returned to Scandinavia, with more glory, than riches. When his name became celebrated, not only in that, but, likewise, in all the neighbouring countries, and the fame of the hero had reached the Scots and Picts, their expectations were highly raised—the one hoped they might recover their country, and the other their liberty, if, laying aside all former animosities, they were to coalesce in an attempt against the Romans under this leader. At that time, indeed, the Roman empire was so much harassed by the arms of their neighbours, that the very opportunity might have excited their ancient enemies to avenge their former injuries; for the emperors were so weakened by civil wars, and the Goths, Vandals, Franks, and Africans, each by their irruptions into the neighbouring provinces, so tormented them on every hand, that laying aside all idea of defending the extremities, the armies were recalled to preserve the imperial seat of Italy, and of Rome. Amidst these commotions, the leaders who commanded the legions in Britain, considering the state of the Roman empire as desperate, began every one to consult for his own private exaltation, and endeavoured at different times to establish a distinct despotism; nor content with distressing the Islanders, by every species of cruelty and extortion, they besides, exhausted each other by their mutual attacks. Thus, as every day was diminishing the number of the legionaries, and increasing the hatred of the provincials, the Britons wanted rather the ability than the inclination for an universal rebellion. But, above all other disasters, that which chiefly af-

fectured the island, was inflicted by the Emperor Constantius, who, having assumed the purple, not only withdrew every Roman soldier, but every soldier of every description, who was in Britain, and left the country unarmed, and defenceless, exposed to every assault from every foreign enemy that chose to attack them; which opportune circumstance, contributed materially to hasten the combination among the Scots. In this state of affairs began the secret negotiations for peace with the Picts, and ambassadors were sent by both nations to Fergusius, recalling him to undertake the government of the kingdom. He, as a soldier desirous of glory, tired of the inactivity of the present, and big with the expectation of the future, cheerfully accepted their invitation. At the report of his expedition, not only the Scottish exiles, but many Danes, attached to him as friends and fellow warriors, animated with the same hopes, left their homes, and landed in Argyle; thither all who had been previously informed of his coming, from among the exiles of Ireland, and the neighbouring islands, quickly gathered around him, bringing with them a number of their hosts and relations, and young men who were desirous of adventure.

XL. FERGIUSIUS.

II. Trusting to these auxiliaries, Fergusius, after the manner of the country, was created fortieth king of the Scots. The Book of Paisley* places his return in the sixth year

* The Book of Paisley, or as it is vulgarly called the Black Book of Paisley. This was chiefly a transcript of Fordun's Chronicle, made by the monks in the monastery of Paisley, and continued by them. John Fordun was a priest of the diocese of St. Andrews, and chaplain of the church of Aberdeen; he lived during the reigns of Kings Robert II. and III. and compiled the history of the Scots, from the origin of the nation, till the time of King David I. A. D. 1153; this chronicle was continued by Walter Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm, and other writers of the fifteenth age, till the death of James I. A. D. 1437, and is commonly known by the name of *Scotichronicon*. Fordun, in order to accomplish his laborious undertaking, searched all the libraries, and private records, of the different religious houses in Scotland, and travelled, likewise, into England and Ireland, to endeavour, as much as possible, to collect the fragments which had escaped the destroying hand of Edward I. He has been styled the father of Scottish history, and, although his work does

of the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius, others, in the eighth, that is according to the computation of Marianus Scotus, four hundred and three, or, according to Funccius, four hundred and four years after the birth of Christ, and about twenty-seven years after the death of his ancestor, Eugenius. Those who contend, from Bede, that this was the first coming of the Scots, may, out of that history itself, be convinced of their mistake. The assembly of the estates being dissolved, the king, a man born and nurtured in the midst of war, perceived that the favourable opportunity, and the ardour of his men, must be improved, and the news of his arrival anticipated. He, therefore, seized upon the frontier fortresses, and as he had not soldiers sufficient to garrison, destroyed them. The kingdom being thus recovered, he assiduously prepared an expedition to march against the enemy, as soon as the season of the year should permit. The Britons, in the mean time, were divided into two factions; the one, desirous of liberty, and weary of foreign domination, rejoiced at their coming; the other preferred their present ease, though conjoined with the greatest disadvantages, to uncertain freedom, and a certain war; wherefore, fearing the threatened danger, and conscious of their own weakness, they sent a double embassy; one to the Picts, to entreat them that they would not—forgetful of the friendship of the Britons and Romans—desert to their ancient enemies, adventurers without riches, hope or power; adding, besides admonitions and promises, severe threatenings from the Romans, whom, when both in their full strength they could not resist, it would not now be possible to withstand, when the one was weakened by levies, and the other broken down by every species of misfortune. Their ambassadors to

contain, like every other work of his age, a number of legendary tales, it is the oldest and most respectable authority to which we can refer for the earlier periods of Scottish history. It is divided into five books; the first contains the fabulous history of the Scots; the second, from the origin of the monarchy, under Fergus, the son of Ferchard, A. 330, before the christian era, during the space of 733 years, till the restoration, under Fergus II. the son of Erc; the third, from Fergus II. A. D. 403, till the union of the Scots and Picts the fourth, from the union, till the reign of Malcolm Canmore; and the fifth, from the reign of Malcolm III. till the death of David I.

the Romans, received instructions to implore assistance against the cruelty of an insatiable enemy, while any thing remained to them to defend, which, if they did, Britain would prove for ever faithfully devoted to them; but, if otherwise, they would rather leave their country, than endure, from these fierce nations, a slavery more grievous than death. The Romans, although pressed on every side by war, sent one legion from Gaul, to protect the province, but, with orders to return as soon as they got affairs there settled for the time. Aided by these forces, the Britons suddenly attacked a plundering band, who were straggling incautiously, and drove them away with great slaughter. The allied kings, with a well appointed army, having advanced to the wall of Severus, encountered the enemy on the banks of the river Carron. There a desperate engagement took place, and after a dreadful carnage on both sides, victory declared for the Romans. They, however, because they were soon to return to Gaul, content with having repressed the enemy, repaired the wall of Severus, which had been broken down in many places, and, after it was restored, placed their garrisons of Britons to defend it, and departed. The confederates, although superior in the rapidity of their movements, and in the endurance of fatigue, were yet inferior in numbers, and efficient strength to their opponents, they, therefore, determined to abstain from pitched battles, to harass the enemy by incessant incursions; but, until they had a sufficient number of full grown men, never to commit their last stake to the chance of one engagement.

III. When intelligence, however, was brought them of the departure of the Romans from Britain, they changed their plan, and collecting their whole forces into one body, they overturned the wall where it had been slightly rebuilt by the soldiers, and was negligently guarded by the Britons. A wider range for devastation being thus obtained, they rendered the country beyond that boundary, which they could not retain for want of men, useless to the Britons. The principal leader in the destruction of the rampart, is said to have been one Græme,* who having transported his soldiers in ships, to the

* Græme or Graham. This is one of those doubtful personages in Scottish history, whose very existence has been called in question, and the appel-

other side, overwhelmed the unwary guards, and opened a passage for his companions. Whether this chieftain was a Scot, or a Briton, historians have left uncertain. The greater number contend that he was a Briton, of the family of Fulgentianus, sprung from one of the noblest families of that nation, and father-in-law of Fergusius, and I feel inclined to coincide with this opinion. The wall being destroyed, the Scots and Picts, inflicted the most inhuman cruelties upon the Britons, at that time helpless through the disuse of arms, and massacred them without distinction of sex, or age. They on the other hand, sent a melancholy embassy to Rome, to inform the emperor, of the ineffable calamity of the nation, and humbly supplicating assistance, urging that although they might disregard the slaughter of the Britons, and the destruction of a province, lately so splendid, yet it belonged to the dignity of the Roman people, to prevent their name from becoming contemptible among these barbarous nations. Another legion was then sent, which, as Bede relates, coming at the unexpected time of harvest, occasioned great slaughter to the enemy. To check these auxiliaries, the allied kings collected as great an army as they could, and trusting to former successes, and the friendship of Dionethus, the Briton, marched against the enemy. Dionethus, was a nobleman, who, having uniformly urged his countrymen to shake off the Roman yoke, particularly then, when all the forces of the empire

lation of Graham's Dyke has been accounted for, by supposing it to have originally been a translation of Severus' wall, Grim's dyke. Warton explains it to mean "the wall made by magic," besides a number of other fanciful etymological derivations. But that the tradition of Graham's overturning the Roman wall, formed part of the national belief as far back as the time of Malcolm Canmore, or David I. would appear to be proved by an inscription, if genuine, on a marble tablet, which bears date 1057, found when the old church of Falkirk was pulled down, in the year 1811. The marble has two inscriptions, the one, FALKIRK M^ONAST. FVN: MAL^O III 1057. the other, FUNERATVS HIC DEIN ROB GRAHAM ILLE EVERSVS VALL. SEVERVS A C D 15 FERGVSVS ii. R SCO. After hic, there is a word which is illegible. Nimmo's Stirlingshire, vol. ii. p. 641. Perhaps the name itself, is simply a Gothic term, which signifies a chief, *Gram*, according to Torfæus, was the denomination of every independent leader, and his soldiers were called *Grams*. Ea tempestate quilibet princeps, qui non alienis bellum gereret auspiciis, Gramus appellabatur, milites vero Grami. His. Norv. Tom. i. 379. quoted by Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 143.

were employed in other wars, was suspected of revolutionary principles by them, and hated by the Romans, but lived on terms of friendship with the Scots and Picts. These latter, learning that the enemy intended to cut him off as their most deadly opponent, in order to prevent their design, proceeded rapidly by forced marches to meet them; and having joined their forces with Dionethus, fiercely attacked the Romans. At first they were successful, for, confident in their numbers, they made a simultaneous onset, both in front and rear, and forced them to give way. But when the legionaries, thrown into confusion, began to yield, the allied kings, too eager in the pursuit, rushed upon that part of the Roman army which, placed in reserve, remained unbroken, and were repulsed by them with great slaughter; and had not the Romans, conscious of their inferiority, forbore the pursuit, the carnage that day must have been immense; but because the loss of a few in a small number is severely felt, the victory gave them little pleasure.

iv. Maximianus—so the commander of the Roman legion is called by our writers—intimidated by this check, retired to the heart of his province, and the different kings returned each to his own territory, while Dionethus, having assumed the purple after the manner of the Romans, proclaimed himself king of the Britons. When the Roman general learned that his adversaries were dispersed, having collected as many troops as he could, and increased his forces with the British auxiliaries, he advanced against Dionethus, who was infesting the places nearest his province, thinking to crush him, from whom the most imminent danger arose, before the arrival of his allies to his assistance. But the three kings, having joined their forces more rapidly than he imagined, advanced against him, and after exhorting their soldiers formed them in order of battle, and without delay commenced the engagement. The Roman commander placed the British in the first line, and kept his own troops in reserve. The fight began furiously, and the first line already appeared to give way, when Maximus bringing up his legion, supported the faltering Britons; then detaching some squadrons to fall upon the rear of the Scots, several of their divisions, who were caught between the two

parties, formed into a circle and defended themselves, fighting bravely, until an overwhelming number of the enemy being sent against them, they were wholly cut to pieces. But their calamity gave an opportunity for the rest to escape.

v. There fell in this battle, Fergusius, king of the Scots, and Durstus, king of the Picts. Dionethus, grievously wounded, was carried to the sea coast by his attendants, and escaped in a little boat. This victory struck such terror into the minds of the vanquished, that they recalled the remembrance of past times, and most of them began to look again towards their places of exile. Fergusius was killed after he had reigned sixteen years over the Scots, a man of a truly great mind, and who may with justice be called the second founder of the kingdom of the Scots; and in this perhaps, esteemed superior to the first Fergus. He—the former—came to a thinly inhabited country, with the consent of the Picts, and there had to contend, not with the invincible forces of the Romans, but with the Britons alone, who, as they were not much superior to him in the habiliments of war, were far inferior in the endurance of fatigue; but this Fergusius—almost all who could bear arms among the Scots being killed, and he himself, educated in a foreign land—after twenty-seven years of exile, was recalled, an unknown king, to a people with whom he was unacquainted, and he came with a mixed assemblage out of various nations, to contend against the Britons, aided by Roman auxiliaries; and had not a peculiar providence favoured his endeavours, the daring attempt must have appeared rash, if not even allied to madness. At his death, he left three sons, yet in childhood, Eugenius, Dongardus, and Constantine. Græme, the maternal grandfather, was by universal consent, appointed tutor to the princes, until they should come of age, and viceroy of the kingdom; and of such high repute was his virtue, that in the most turbulent times, though a foreigner, among a fierce people, not always remarkable for reverence towards their native kings, no commotion of any consequence, disturbed the internal tranquillity of the country while under his government.

XLI. EUGENIUS, OR EVENUS.

VI. Eugenius, or Evenus, the eldest of the sons of Fergusius, enjoyed the royal title, but the active administration remained in the hands of Græme; who having ordered a levy to be made of all the young men in the kingdom, when he found their strength had been weakened beyond what he imagined, by the late engagements, and that nothing could then be rationally attempted, desisted from enforcing the enrolment. The Roman legion, according to orders, after delivering their allies, being about to return to the continent, ravaged all the hostile possessions within the rampart of Severus, and having murdered the inhabitants, they restored the lands to the Britons, retaining the plunder to themselves. The remains of the Scots and Picts who escaped this calamity, were again confined beyond the two friths. In this posture of affairs, the Romans informed the Britons, that beset, as they themselves were, by many great and powerful armies, leagued against the existence of the empire, they could no longer afford either exertions, or the expense, necessary for defending so distant a province; and advised them not to expect any foreign aid in future, but to take arms and inure themselves to the fatigue of military exercise; to redeem, by their activity and hardihood, what they had lost by their sloth, nor allow an enemy, inferior both in numbers and wealth, to treat them so contemptuously, to plunder their fields yearly, and carry their persons off, as if they had merely come upon a hunting match. The Romans, however, that they might confer a lasting advantage, accomplished a great and a memorable undertaking. They collected an immense band of artificers from the whole province, the Romans and Britons vying with each other, and, where the rampart of Severus had extended for thirty miles, they erected a stone wall * eight feet broad, and

* This last, and most important of the Roman walls in Scotland, has been also subject of dispute. Innes, and after him, Pinkerton, describes two walls as having been erected within six years. The Romans, by their statements, left Britain about the year 409, the Britons, about 421, requested their aid against the Picts and Scots. They arrived, repelled the enemy, and caused the Britons to build a turf wall on the march between Clyde and

twelve high, divided by castles, some of which resembled small towns. It terminated towards the west, at a place now called Kilpatrick, and commenced on the east, at a monastery, which Bede names Aberkernic, on which spot, about 120 years ago, stood Abercorn, a strong castle of the Douglasses, but no vestige of the monastery. Besides, lest the enemy should, as they had done formerly, transport themselves in vessels, and land beyond the wall, they built a number of watchtowers on elevated situations, along the whole coast, whence they had an extensive prospect of the sea, and placed garrisons where they appeared likely to be of service, these, however, unfortunately, consisted of base and unwarlike cowards that dared not face an armed foe. The Roman legions, having performed these friendly offices for the provincials, exhorted them strongly, to defend their country by their native forces, and forbade them to expect thenceforward, any foreign assistance; for the empire, now exposed to imminent peril, could no longer help their distant allies.

VII. When the Scots and the Picts, ascertained by their scouts, that the Romans were gone and would not again return, they attacked the rampart with their whole strength, and much more fiercely than before, not only annoying their opponents by missile weapons, but with many-pronged hooks or, as I understand Bede, with mural scythes, *i. e.* hooks fastened on the ends of long poles, they dragged them from the walls, and, having thus swept away the defenders from the upper part of the fortification, by pushing forward their approaches they undermined and destroyed the foundations, and a breach once effected, they forced their astonished enemies to leave their villages and cities, and fly for safety in every direction; for the Scots and Picts were so keenly bent on vengeance, that all the calamities endured in former hostilities appeared tolerable, in comparison of their present misfortunes. At

Forth, as the former had been thrown down. Bede, lib. i. cap. 12. Five years after this, A. D. 426, the Romans again, under the command of Gallio, came to assist the Britons against their old enemies, and built the wall—the one here misplaced by Buchanan, and also mentioned by Bede—of solid stone, between the Solway and Tyne, and which run hard by Hexham, in Northumberland, and occupied the site of that of Severus.

last, after the invaders, rather fatigued than satiated with the miseries they had inflicted, returned home, they began, too late, to reflect that it was not so much the property of their enemies, as the rewards of the victors they had destroyed. When, therefore, it was discussed in a convention of the chiefs, in what manner such great victories should be improved, it was determined to occupy the lands taken from the enemy with new colonies, in order to extend their territories, and provide for their progeny, which appeared the more desirable, on account of the many brave, but indigent warriors, for whom their ancient boundaries were too narrow. This flow of prosperity being speedily known throughout all the neighbouring nations, not only the Scottish exiles, but a vast number of needy strangers assembled for plunder, never dreaming that Græme, in such flourishing circumstances, would put an end to the war, until he had conquered the whole of Britain; but he having already experienced so many vicissitudes, was more inclined to an advantageous and honourable peace, than to expose certain felicity to uncertain peril. He therefore granted a truce to the Britons who were not only willing, but anxious to obtain it, upon condition that both nations should be content with their ancient limits, and abstain from injuring one another. The boundary of both to be the wall of Hadrian.

VIII. Græme, on the conclusion of the treaty, divided the ceded territory, not only among the Scots, but, likewise, among the strangers who had followed his fortune; in consequence of which, almost all these countries, receiving as their new inhabitants, either foreigners, or children of the returned exiles who had been born abroad, altered their ancient names. Galloway, the district next to Ireland, falling by lot to the Irish, is understood to have received from them that name so celebrated in their own country; Caithness, because it is mountainous; Ross, from its form, a peninsula; Buchan, on account of the large herds of cattle which it produced; Lochaber, from a lake, or rather an arm of the sea; Nairne, Strathnavern, Strathspey, Strathern, and Monteith, with many regions on this side of the Forth, as Levenox, or Lennox, Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Tiviotdale, Liddale, Eskdale,

Eusdale, Nithsdale, Annandale, and Douglasdale, received their appellations from rivers. Many districts, however, retained their ancient names entire, and others only changed them a little. The viceroy next, in order to check by proper institutions, that licentiousness which had spread so widely by the long continuance of war, ordained that the monks and teachers of Christianity should be recalled, and, lest they should be burdensome to the poorer classes, he appointed them annual stipends from the fruits of the earth, which, although small even then, yet to the moderation and temperance of these pious men, appeared sufficiently ample. He placed, also, garrisons, for protection against any sudden incursion of the enemy, in the most exposed quarters, partly rebuilding the strengths which had been thrown down, and partly erecting new ones.

ix. War being thus wholly extinguished throughout Britain, the Britons, rescued from the horrible tempest, reaped such fruits from the public tranquillity as rendered it uncertain whether war or peace were accompanied with the greater disadvantages; for, their cities being destroyed, their villages burned, and all their agricultural implements lost, those who escaped the cruelty of the enemy, were forced to support a wretched existence, either by hunting, or by turning their licentious plundering from the enemy against their own countrymen, so that domestic war, almost immediately, sprung out of external peace. Nor did the implacable enemies of their own soil alone distress them, who, while they abstained from open hostility, yet frequently wasted the districts nearest them, but a band of Irish, attracted by the hope of spoil, tormented by their maritime incursions the miserable inhabitants, already worn out with their extreme misfortunes; and, in addition to all their other calamities, they were afflicted by a severe famine, which so broke their haughty spirits, that many delivered themselves up spontaneously to the enemy. At length a few, united by necessity, attacked the scattered, strolling bands of plunderers, and, having driven the Hibernians to the sea, forced them to leave Albium. Scarcely, however, was this pest driven away than a more immediate danger began to press heavily upon them—their constant tormentors, the Scots and

Picts, not satisfied with secretly plundering, resolved to seize the first occasion for attempting some exploit of greater importance. Eugenius, the son of Fergusius, who had hitherto remained quiet under the tutelage of a foreigner, now that the strength of the country had grown up during a long peace, and had increased by a numerous race of young warriors, wished to exhibit some specimen of his prowess. But, besides the tempting imbecility of the Britons, he was instigated by a private cause of quarrel.

x. Græme, his maternal grandfather, as I have mentioned, was descended from an illustrious family in his own country, but of that party which desired to deliver their nation from subjection to the Romans, for which cause, on being driven from home by the other, the stronger faction, he had joined the Scots, with whom he was connected both by ancient hospitality and the necessity of his situation. On his decease, Eugenius, by ambassadors, demanded possession of his rich paternal estates, which were situate within the wall of Hadrian, and denounced war in case of a refusal. When the ambassadors had delivered their message in a council of the Britons, there arose so strong a contention among them about it, that they almost proceeded to acts of violence. Those who were keenest exclaimed—that the Scots did not so much desire land, of which they had abundance, as war; that they not only endeavoured to take advantage of their other misfortunes, but to try their patience. If the estates were denied, war would be the consequence; if granted, an insatiable enemy would be received into their bowels; nor would they ever be able to maintain peace, unless they hoped, by the cession of a few fields, to satiate that cupidity, which so many and such great possessions as had been given up at the end of the last war, had not been able to satisfy. It was, therefore, necessary to oppose with their whole strength at once their immoderate and unbounded desires, and to curb their licentiousness by the sword, rather than by small concessions inflame their covetousness, and increase their audacity.

xi. In reply, Conanus, an eminent nobleman, celebrated among his countrymen for his wisdom, expatiated strongly on the ferocity of the enemy, and on the then present state of

Britain, drained of almost all her young men for transmarine expeditions, and, in addition to the waste of foreign war, the remaining wretches were consumed or weakened by domestic seditions, and severe famine, while the Roman legions gone to assist in their own civil wars, had left no hope of their ever returning. He, therefore, thought peace, with this most cruel enemy, although not honourable, was absolutely necessary. And this advice, he added, was given not from any regard for his own private fortune, but was extorted by the exigence of the public, in proof of which, he could appeal to his former conduct; he never, as long as it was possible to defend themselves against their insatiable enemy, made the least mention of peace, nor was he ignorant that the peace which he recommended would not be lasting, but it would afford a respite from war, for a while, until their strength, diminished and almost exhausted by so many disasters, might be renovated and refreshed by a short repose. Upon this, a universal clamour being raised in the assembly, he was prevented from proceeding, and the discontented loudly exclaimed, that he looked to no public advantage, but wished to procure the kingdom for himself by foreign aid. On which he departed from the meeting, calling God to witness, that in persuading them to peace, he had no hope of any private advantage. A tumult, however, having arisen, he was murdered by the multitude. His fate produced this effect, that no prudent man, although he plainly perceived the approaching ruin of his country, dared, after him, freely deliver his opinion.

XII. The ambassadors returning home without having accomplished their object, the Scots and Picts, laying aside every other concern, assiduously prepared for war. The Britons, likewise, perceiving that this must be the result, as soon as their violent passion had a little subsided, despatched ambassadors to the Scots, who, under the pretext of concluding a peace, endeavoured to procure some delay of the war, and offered money, at the same time endeavouring to persuade them that more might be obtained by treaty and arrangement than by hostilities; and as the chances of war were doubtful, and the issue uncertain, that prudent men would not neglect a present advantage, or incur certain danger for uncertain hope.

But nothing was effected, for Eugenius learned by his spies, that while the Britons were pretending to desire peace abroad, at home they were intently preparing for war. By which duplicity, the ancient enmity of the Scots and Picts being inflamed, the distresses of the Britons tempting, and, besides, elated by prosperity, the allies would accede to nothing except an unconditional surrender of every thing. Preparations were, therefore, made for a decisive contest. The allied kings, accustomed for so many years to conquer, were confident in the hope of victory; and the Britons had in view whatever cruelties could be inflicted by an incensed enemy upon the vanquished. In this state of affairs, and disposition of mind, as soon as the armies approached each other, a battle commenced, such as never before had been fought in the island between the natives; and with such determined obstinacy was it contested, that it was not till after a long struggle, that the right wing of the Scots began to give way. Eugenius perceiving this, all his other reserves being already engaged, ordered the troops, who had been left to guard the baggage, to be brought up to their support. From these, who were yet entire, the Britons received a severe check, and victory first declared in that quarter whence destruction and ruin had lately been threatened. The rest of the Britons, following the fortune of that line, turned their backs; as they fled from the field of battle, toward the woods and marshy places near it, the camp servants of the enemy inflicted immense carnage on the routed, straggling, and unarmed fugitives. In that battle, there fell about fourteen thousand Britons, and four thousand of their enemies.

XIII. The Britons, having lost in this battle almost all their military youth, sent ambassadors who were instructed to refuse no terms of peace. The confederated kings, when they perceived that every thing was in their power, became inclined a little to compassion, and granted terms, which, although hard, were not, considering the circumstances, remarkably severe. They stipulated—that the Britons should neither send for the Romans, nor other foreign ally, nor receive any if they came, nor allow them a passage through their territories; that they should have the same enemies with the Picts and Scots;

that they should make no league, enter upon no war, and send no assistance to any nation, without their permission; that their boundaries should be the river Humber; that a sum of money should be advanced to be divided among the soldiers, and the same paid yearly; likewise, that they should give an hundred hostages at the choice of the allies. These conditions the Britons were forced to accept, and, thus a peace was made which lasted several years, being preserved by the same necessity which had at first imposed it.

xiv. The Britons, weak at home, and deserted by foreigners, in order to have a person with whom they might in general consult in their emergencies, created Constantine, one of their own countrymen, king, a nobleman of high descent whom they brought from British Gaul. He, on his arrival, seeing the strength of the Britons broken by external war, and by robberies and intestine discord at home, left nothing unattempted to preserve peace with his neighbours, during a reign of ten years. At last he was killed by the treachery of Vortigern, a powerful and ambitious noble. He left three sons, two of whom were under age, and the third, the eldest, being incapable of taking any part in the management of public affairs, was shut up in a monastery; he, however, was made king, chiefly by the direction of Vortigern, who, under the cover of another's name, retained the power in his own hands. The fields having been cultivated during the peace, after a most grievous famine, the most abundant plenty, ever known in Britain, succeeded; thence arose the vices of peace, far more pernicious than all the calamities of war, luxury, cruelty, lust, and drunkenness; nor was there any where to be found either truth or sincerity; for equity, fidelity, and regard to promises, were made the jest, not only of the vulgar, but, even of the monks and professors of superior sanctity, concerning which, most lamentable complaints are made by Bede, the Anglo-Saxon, and Gildas, the Briton. In the meantime, the ambassadors returned from Ætius, bringing back word that no assistance was to be expected from that quarter;—for the Britons had written letters to Ætius, of which I shall copy a few sentences, as preserved by Bede, both because they show the wretchedness of that nation, and, likewise, point out all

error in chronology, into which a great many writers have fallen, the expressions are—To Ætius, third time consul, the groans of the Britons; and a little after, the barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea drives us back upon the barbarians, leaving us only our choice between two deaths, to be murdered or drowned. Now, Ætius was appointed consul a third time, along with Symmachus, who bore that office in the year 446, after the birth of Christ. Nor could any assistance be obtained from thence at that time, as the empire was straitly pressed by the invasion of Attila.

xv. The Britons thus reduced to desperation, Vortigern, alone, rejoiced in the public misfortune, because, having long meditated treason, he thought he could commit it with impunity, amid the universal confusion. He, therefore, ordered the king to be murdered by his body guards, who were in his interest; and, then, to avert from himself the suspicion of so atrocious a deed, as if enraged and impatient for their punishment, he ordered the murderers to be put to death, without a trial. The kingdom, thus obtained by consummate villany, was not governed in a more upright manner; for, suspecting the fidelity of his countrymen towards his government, and considering his power as feeble and insecure, he allied himself with the Saxons, who were carrying on their piracies, and infesting every surrounding coast. Having invited Hengist, their leader, to his assistance, who arrived with a strong force in three large vessels, he assigned them lands in the island, that they might fight cheerfully for Britain, not as for a strange country, but as for their native home. At the report of this settlement, so great a crowd followed from the three nations of Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, that they soon became formidable to the native inhabitants. Trusting to these auxiliaries, Vortigern, about the year 449, attacked the Scots and Picts, and being victorious, drove them beyond the wall of Hadrian. Concerning Eugenius, king of the Scots, there are two accounts, by the one he is said to have fallen in battle, beyond the Humber, while, according to the other, he died of a disease; but, in whatever manner his death happened, it is sufficiently evident, that he governed Scotland with great equity, and justly deserves to be commemorated among her

best kings. Notwithstanding the first part of his life, from his infancy, was almost wholly spent in war, yet, he improved so much under the instructions of his grandfather, and acquired such strength of mind, that neither the license of a military life, as too often happens, seduced him to vice, nor rendered him careless in his religious habits; nor did his success produce arrogance; so, neither did the blandishments of peace blunt the acuteness of his genius, nor break his martial spirit; but he regulated his life with such admirable equanimity, that by the force of his natural genius, he equalled or excelled those, who, after being instructed in all the liberal arts, have been called to assume the helm of the state.

XLII. DONGARDUS.

XVI. In the same year in which Eugenius died, A. D. 452, Dongardus, his brother, a man of similar disposition, succeeded to the throne, who cultivated willingly an honourable peace, but when circumstances demanded it, was not afraid of war. Wherefore, anxious to be prepared for either alternative, not only to repel an invading enemy, but, likewise, to prevent the public mind from languishing through inactivity, or being debilitated by too much indulgence, he curbed the insolence, and restrained the vices of the youth, by inuring them to labour, and frugal habits. He never, however, shone in war, the domestic disturbances among the Britons, suffering him to enjoy the tranquillity he loved. Being thus freed from all apprehension, he devoted himself wholly to religious cares; for the remains of the Pelagian heresy still disturbed the church. To refute these, Palladius* had been sent thither, during the reign of Eugenius, by Celestine, the

* Pinkerton says, "There is not a trace of Palladius in our history," Enq. vol. ii. p. 262, and by implication, denies that there exists even any remembrance of him in our traditions; but this learned writer, in his "zeal to destroy," is too apt to treat as the "dreams of antiquists," or "fables, that would disgrace school-boys," what others, not equally anxious to set aside the oldest Scottish historians, nor equally interested in their fall, consider as worthy of being treated, at least respectfully. Fordun, confining the mission of Palladius to the Scots of Britain, says, "that Eugenius gave him and his companions a place of residence, where he asked it." In the MS of Coupar, there is this

Roman pontiff, and under his instructions, many persons sprung up, illustrious alike for the purity of their doctrine, and the sanctity of their lives, in particular, Saint Patrick,* Servanus, Ninian, and Kentigern. It is believed that Palladius first created bishops in Scotland, for until that time, the

addition. "Apud Fordun in lie Mearns, *i. e.* at Fordun in the Mearns," this perfectly coincides with the modern account. "This parish, [Fordun] is remarkable for having been for some time the residence, and probably the burial place of St. Palladius, who was sent by pope Celestine into Scotland, some time in the fifth century, to oppose the Pelagian heresy. That Palladius resided, and was probably buried here, appears from several circumstances. There is a house which still remains in the church yard, called St. Palladius' chapel, where it is said the image of the Saint was kept, and to which pilgrimages were performed from the most distant parts of Scotland. There is a well at the corner of the minister's garden, which goes by the name of Paldy's well. Statist. Acct. vol. iv. p. 499. To this it may be added, that the annual market held at Fordun, is still universally, in that part of the country, called Paldy, or, as it is vulgarly pronounced, Paddy fair. This is a strong presumption that a church had been dedicated to him there, as it is a well known fact, that at the Reformation, when the saints' days were abolished, the fairs, which used to succeed the festivals, and were denominated from them, were retained; hence their very name, from Lat. *Feriae*, holidays. Camerarius asserts, on the authority of Polydore Virgil, that the precious relics of this saint were formerly worshipped at Fordun, and that the shrines containing these, adorned with silver, gold, and jewels, had been repaired by William Scheves, of St. Andrews. It is said in the Breviary of Aberdeen, that Palladius died at Longforgund, in Mernis, evidently a mistake for Fordun, in Mernis. According to Siegebert, Palladius was sent to the Scots, A. D. 432. Jamieson's Hist. Acct. of Anc. Culdees, pp. 10, 11.

* St. Patrick, the tutelary saint of Ireland, was born at Nemthur, near Alcluid, or Dunbarton, now thought to be Old Kilpatrick, near Glasgow. When only thirteen years of age, he was taken prisoner by the Irish, and sold as a slave to Moluc, one of their kings. After four years' captivity, he was ransomed by his parents, and being educated at home, went first to France, and afterwards to Rome, whence he was sent by pope Celestine, to Ireland. St. Patrick is mentioned in Bede's Martyrology, but Ledwigh, in his Irish Antiq. doubts the existence, even of such a personage. Cambden and Usher, are, however, authorities of fully as great weight as Dr. Ledwigh, and although we reject the miracles, there seems no sufficient ground for rejecting the Saint. Mr. Pinkerton, who is not over credulous in general, supposes him to have been of Roman extraction. His first and greatest care, was to teach the Irish the use of letters, as the prime means of making their conversion permanent. Two genuine epistles of St. Patrick are preserved, and have been published by Ware.

churches were governed by monks, without bishops, with less splendour indeed, and external pomp, but with much greater simplicity, and holiness.* During this period, the Scots were so intent upon settling and reforming their religious worship, that they escaped untouched, amid the storm of war which shook almost the whole world beside. In the second year of Dongardus' reign, Vortigern being deposed, his son Vortimer, was chosen king by the Britons. In order to break more easily the power of the Saxons, he renewed the ancient league with the Scots and Picts, which had been entered into, during the reign of Carusius, by the three nations against the Romans. Dongardus did not long survive this confederation. He died after a five years' reign.

XLIII. CONSTANTINE I.

xvii. Constantine, his younger brother, succeeded him, who, although he lived temperately enough in a private station, no sooner received the crown, than he immediately gave a loose rein to his vicious propensities. Cruel and avaricious toward his nobles, he chose the lowest of mankind for his companions, and abandoning himself wholly to lasciviousness, the seduction of virgins and matrons, and immoderate conviviality, he kept always about him, musicians, buffoons,

St. Ninian was descended of a noble family in Galloway, and received his education at Rome. He is said by Bede, to have converted the southern Picts. He founded a monastery at Whithorn, and erected a church, which being the first that was built of stone, received the significant name of *candida casa*. St. Servanus, or St. Serf, lived within the hermitage of Culross, and was afterward sent by St. Palladius, to Orkney, where he had such great success, that he is called the Apostle of Orkney. St. Kentigern, or St. Mungo, *i. e.* the kind, or courteous, or, according to the Rev. T. Maccourty, in the *Statist. Acct. of Pennycuik*, vol. x. p. 419, the dear friend, was the disciple of St. Servanus. He laboured chiefly among the inhabitants of Strathclyde, and is considered as the founder of the diocess of Glasgow, to whom its Cathedral is dedicated. Jamieson's *Acct. of the Culdees*. Chalmers' *Caledonia*, Irvine's *Nomen*. Ledwigh's *Irish Antiq.* and Pinkerton's *Enq.*

* Before the coming of Palladius, Fordun says, that the Scots had, as teachers of the faith, and administrators of the Sacraments, only Presbyters and Monks, following the custom of the primitive church. *Scotichron. lib. iii. cap. 8.* yet Spottiswood could find no authority for Buchanan's assertion. *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, p. 7.

and ministers of every species of pleasure. The Scottish nobles, offended by this conduct, came frequently to him, and admonished him of his duty, but he received them haughtily, and told them contemptuously, to attend to their own affairs, as he had sufficient counsel without resorting to them; adding, they were much mistaken if they indulged the hope, that under the mask of giving advice, they could force the king to submit to their dictation. But as he was arrogant towards his nobles, so he was mean and abject to his enemies; he not only granted peace upon the first application, and overlooked their insults, but restored to them some of their castles, and permitted the rest to be dismantled. By this behaviour he so provoked the Scots and the Picts, that the Scots were nearly driven to rebellion; and the Picts, who had previously held secret consultations with the Saxons, at last, withdrawing themselves from their connexion with the Scots, openly concluded a treaty with them. Among the Scots, however, Dugald, a Gallovidian, who possessed great authority among the people, restrained, for the present, the multitude by a soothing speech, confessing that a great many of their complaints were well founded, and their demands reasonable, but, if to all their other misfortunes they should at present add a civil war, they would expose the state to the utmost danger, seeing it was already scarcely possible to preserve the kingdom from ruin, the Picts being alienated, the Britons, by the death of Vortimer, rendered uncertain friends, and the Saxons, who were powerful in war, cruel in victory, and faithless in treaties, constantly on the alert for the destruction of all their neighbours. The people being calmed by the prudence of some of the leading men, the king continued to rule, notwithstanding the universal hatred, and contempt of the nation, till a nobleman of the *Æbudæ*, whose daughter he had violated, killed him in the fifteenth year of his reign. This is common report, but I am rather inclined to follow Fordun, who tells us, in his *Scotichronicon*, that he reigned twenty-two years, and at last died of a lingering disorder.

XVIII. During this reign, Aurelius Ambrosius, the son of that Constantine who was king several years before, came to Britain, from Brittany, for both his father and his brother

who succeeded him, having been treacherously cut off by Vortigern, the two remaining sons of Constantine, had been sent by their paternal friends to British Gaul. This I think the likelier origin of Aurelius Ambrosius, than what we are told by some writers, among whom is Bede, who say he was the last of the Romans by birth, who reigned in Britain. These brothers, who, after Vortimer was murdered by the contrivance of the stepmother, and Vortigern assumed the empty royal title, without either authority or power, being now grown up and capable of governing, returned to the island, with the good wishes and fond expectations of the nation, to attempt regaining their paternal kingdom, and brought no despicable number of Briton auxiliaries from Gaul along with them. Immediately upon their arrival, having overturned Vortigern in Wales, before they attempted to stir up strangers, they sent ambassadors to the Scots and Picts, to beg their alliance, and assistance against the Saxons, the bitterest enemies of the Christian name. This embassy was kindly received by the Scots, and the treaty formerly entered into with Constantine was renewed, which remained in force from that day, and was kept almost constantly inviolate, till the kingdom of the Britons was subverted by the Angles, and that of the Picts, by the Scots. The Picts informed the ambassadors of the Britons, that they had already formed a league with the Saxons, and they saw no cause why they should violate it; and, that in future they had resolved to share prosperity and adversity together. Thus the whole island was again divided into two parties, the Scots with the Britons, continually fighting against the Picts and the Saxons.

XLIV. CONGALLUS.

XIX. Congallus, the son of Dongardus, Constantine's brother, succeeded his uncle. He was rather of a warlike disposition, but durst not attempt any thing, the people having been so debilitated by the luxury and lasciviousness of the former reign; nor could he ever be induced to any hostile measure, although there were many who—as is usual about kings—strongly flattered his inclination. He first turned his attention to

correct the public morals, but did not venture to restore the ancient discipline, until he had previously created new magistrates, and by their means, repressed feuds, thefts, and robberies. Domestic peace being established, he next endeavoured to introduce among his people, particularly by his own example, a more moderate mode of living; then, if he discovered any of his courtiers pertinaciously adhering to their debaucheries, partly by a lenient punishment, and partly by treating them with contemptuous neglect, he, in a short time, restored public morals to their former tone. In the beginning of his reign, while, as I have mentioned, he occupied himself wholly with the arts of peace, the Britons endeavoured to persuade Aurelius Ambrosius, that he should reclaim Westmoreland, which had now been occupied by the Scots for a great number of years, but after many embassies had passed in vain, upon both sides, and affairs began to assume a warlike aspect, the dread of the common enemy put an end to the dispute, the treaty made by Constantine was renewed, and nothing altered with regard to Westmoreland. Congallus, during the whole period of his reign, may, however, be said to have been at war with the Saxons, but it was carried on in a desultory manner, by skirmishes between plundering parties, in which the Scots, light, active, and generally on horseback, conceived they were superior to the enemy but they never exposed themselves to the hazard of a general engagement; for Congallus, who thought, that as little as possible should be trusted to the decision of fortune, sent only part of the soldiers to the assistance of Aurelius Ambrosius, while with the rest, he distracted the attention of the enemy, by harassing them night and day, and keeping them constantly in a state of alarm.

xx. In the reign of these, and the succeeding kings, flourished Merlin and Gildas, both Britons, famous among their posterity for the high opinion entertained of their divinations. Merlin, somewhat the elder of the two, must be considered as an egregious impostor, and cunning pretender, rather than a prophet. His vaticinations are widely spread, but they are obscure, and contain nothing certain, on which, before the event happens, any rational anticipation can be founded, or

which, after it has happened, can be explained as a true prediction. Besides, they are composed in such a manner, that the same oracle may be twisted, and accommodated to a great number of different events. These prophecies are now daily interpolated, and augmented by new additions, yet such is the folly of credulous men, that what they cannot understand, they do not hesitate to contend for as unquestionable truths as the verities of religion, nor, when their falsehood is made evident, will they suffer themselves to be undeceived. Gildas, who was later than the other, was a good, and learned man, held in high veneration, both while alive and since his death, for his profound erudition, joined with great piety. The predictions which are circulated under his name, are so ridiculous in sentiment and language, and so rude and wretched in composition, that no person in his senses, can believe them to be his composition. Each prophet had a patron, of character similar to his own, for Vortigern first, and then Uter, took Merlin under their protection, to whom he acted as confidant, and procurer in their debaucheries. Aurelius Ambrosius was the friend of Gildas, a man not less to be admired for his moral probity, than for his warlike trophies, upon whose death, Gildas retired to Glastonbury, * and died there most holily. Mention is made of him in the biographical accounts of Aurelius Ambrosius. This chief was succeeded by Uter, the youngest of Constantine's three sons, A. D. 500, and the next year after, Congallus, king of Scotland, died, in the twenty-second year of his reign.

XLV. GORANUS.

XXI. Goranus, the brother of the late king, succeeded him. He followed his example, as far as foreign wars would permit, and governed Scotland with prudence and justice. He not only made the circuit of his dominions, according to the ancient custom of good kings, and punished the guilty, but, in order to check the oppression of the powerful, over the weak and helpless, who dared not to complain, lest they should be more grievously oppressed, he established *ex officio*

* A celebrated monastery in Somersetshire.

informers, who should send him written accounts of these high criminals—a remedy, perhaps necessary in such times, but certainly now, not only of doubtful advantage, but extremely dangerous. Through his endeavours and authority, the Picts were induced to relinquish their treaty of amity with the Saxons, and join in a confederacy with the Scots and Britons against them. Lothus, at that time king of the Picts, excelled all his contemporaries in the excellencies, both of his body and mind, him, therefore, Goranus most strenuously urged, that mindful of their common country and religion, he should withdraw himself from an affinity with barbarians, telling him, if he thought he would be able to preserve a sincere peace with the Saxons, after the Scots and Britons were subdued, he would find himself grievously deceived, for they were men of the most inhuman cruelty, and insatiable avarice. They had given already, a proof sufficiently plain, that nothing would be held sacred, when, with consummate villany, they murdered the British nobility, who certainly merited far different treatment, at a conference to which they had invited them; the son-in-law, being preserved by his father-in-law, not to have his calamity alleviated, but to be exhibited, as an object of scorn, to his enemies. The sanctity of treaties, he added, believed among other nations to be the firmest bond of friendship, is treated by them as a snare to entrap the simple and unwary. For what end, then, he asked, had they encountered so many dangers to save themselves from the yoke of the Romans, if they were voluntarily to deliver themselves up to a harder, and far more ignominious slavery? This would not be to change the condition, but the master, and to prefer the savage, and the barbarian, to the gentle, and the humane. What folly, or rather madness, would it be, to take possessions from the Scots and the Britons, and deliver them to Germans? to spoil men, lately their friends, and allied to them, by ancient ties of kindness, and relationship, in order to increase, to their own ruin, the strength of pirates, common enemies of the human race! But what ought to appear, above all, insupportable to a true Christian, to consent to a treaty, by which his holy religion would be suppressed, profane rites brought back, and impious

tyrants, enemies to all the embellishments of life, and all the exercises of piety, armed with power against God and his law.

XXII. Lothus, convinced of the truth of what Goranus had stated, committed the management of the whole business to him, who easily persuaded Uter to accept the Pict, not as a friend only, but as a relation, by giving him to wife, Anna, either his sister, or his daughter by a legitimate wife. I agree with those who think she was his sister, and suppose a mistake has arisen from his having had a daughter, another Anna, by a concubine. This league being ratified, the three kings obtained many victories over the Saxons, and the name of Uter began to be great and formidable over all Britain. Almost all the leaders of the Saxons being killed, and the power of those who remained so humbled, that their situation appeared nearly desperate, Uter might have been recorded among the greatest kings of his age, had he not by one disgraceful and perfidious act, stained all his great qualities. There was among the chiefs of the Britons, one Gorlois, illustrious for his virtues and his power, whose wife, Igerne, a woman of exquisite beauty, had been the object of Uter's ardent attachment while he was yet in a private station; but when her chastity had withstood all his arts, he at last overcame her modesty by means of the audacious and wicked Merlin, and from this adulterous intercourse, sprung Arthur his son. Uter, freed by the death of his wife from matrimonial bondage, upon being made king, thought himself freed, likewise, from the bondage of the laws, and unable to live absent from Igerne, his love drove him to a very unwarrantable expedient. He alleged an imaginary crime against Gorlois, besieged and took his castle, slew himself, took Igerne to wife, acknowledged Arthur as his son, and educated him nobly in the hopes of the kingdom; but that he might dignify the misconduct of his wife, since it was impossible to conceal it, a fable was invented not unlike that of Jupiter and Alcmena, * often represented upon the stage.—Uter, it was said, had been transformed into the

* Jupiter and Alcmena. Jupiter, in classic fable, is said to have assumed the figure of the lady's husband, and under that form, was the father of Hercules.

shape of Gorlois, by the art of Merlin, when he first had connexion with Igerne; for this Merlin chose rather to be notorious for a vile action, than remain uncelebrated.

XXIII. Arthur, * the fruit of this stolen interview, in the dawn of manhood, displayed such admirable symmetry of person, such superiority of mind, and gave so many indications of his future greatness, that the eyes and the affections of his parents and of the people, already marked him out as successor to the throne. Uter, delighted with this popular omen, flattered the inclination of the people, and treated the prince, on every occasion, as the heir apparent. After a reign of seventeen years, he died, and Arthur his son was immediately adopted in his stead, notwithstanding Lothus, king of the Picts, greatly opposed it, complaining, that his sons—for he had two born of Anna, Arthur's aunt, now arrived at manhood—had been defrauded of the crown, and a spurious and adulterous bastard preferred before them. The whole Britons, however, adhered to Arthur, and denied that he was a bastard, because Uter, after he was born, had married his

* Arthur. From what authorities Buchanan drew up his account of Arthur, it were needless to conjecture; but that he had perused both Gildas and Bede with the eye of a historian and a scholar, we know, and his unbending integrity, forbids the supposition that he would assert a fable in opposition to their testimony. Some later writers have been disposed, however, to treat the king of the Britons as a non-existence, in particular, Mr. Pinkerton, Enq. vol. i. p. 767, asserts that Arthur was merely a name given by the Welsh to Aurelius Ambrosius, their Roman defender against the Saxons, *Art-uir*, signifying simply the chief or great man. Whitaker, on the other hand, maintains the entity of Arthur, as does Hume; and Chalmers, who places the commencement of his reign A. D. 508, thus vindicates the reality and power of the Welsh hero: "The authority and influence of that uncommon character, [the Arthur of history,] extended from A. D. 508, when he was chosen Pendragon, to A. D. 542, when he received his death's wound in the battle of Camlan. The valorous Arthur of history, or the redoubtable Arthur of romance, has supplied the topography of Britain with such significant names, as seem to imply, either that the influence of the real Arthur was felt, or the remembrance of the fictitious Arthur was preserved for many ages after the Pendragon had fallen by the insidious stroke of treachery, from the kindred hand of Modred." And he adds in a note: "It is amusing to remark, how many notices the North British topography furnishes with regard to Arthur, whose fame seems to brighten, as inquiry dispels the doubts of scepticism." *Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 244, 245.

mother, and by that marriage, had legalised the son, whom he always afterwards treated as legitimate; but, notwithstanding this appearance of right, the brilliant genius, the frequent display of bravery, and the tacit, and, as it were, divine impression upon all minds of his future celebrity, were of much greater advantage to Arthur; and with such eagerness did all parties join in his interest, that Lothus, overcome not only by this pretext of right, which, since that time, has always been deemed valid in Britain, but, by the tide of popular affection and favour, desisted from making any claim upon the kingdom, and that the more readily, because he durst not trust the children, for whom he asked it, to the incensed Britons; he was, likewise, influenced by the entreaties of his friends, who represented—that the possession of no kingdom ought to be so highly prized by him, as to induce him to coalesce with infidels for overturning the Christian religion, who would preserve with no more sanctity their friendship and leagues with him, than those they formerly had entered into with the Britons. Besides, the frankness and magnanimity of Arthur himself, who possessed a greatness of soul beyond his age, made a deep impression, and, in consequence, the alliance which had been entered into by the former kings, between the Scots, the Picts, and the Britons, was renewed and confirmed, and so great an intimacy succeeded, that Lothus promised to send Galvinus, the youngest of his two sons, to the British court, when he came of age to bear the fatigue of manly exercises.

xxiv. Arthur assumed the reins of government before he had completed his eighteenth year, but, as his faculties were far riper than his age, so his success was not inferior to his lofty endowments. His father had defined the boundaries of his kingdom, and ratified a peace with the Saxons upon certain conditions, but the tempting opportunity afforded by the tender age of the young king, prevailed with them over the faith of treaties. Arthur, that he might extinguish this combustion in its commencement, having collected an army more rapidly than could have been anticipated, and being joined by Pictish and Scottish auxiliaries, overthrew the enemy in two great battles, and compelled them to pay tribute, and accept the conditions of

peace from him. With the same celerity he took London, the capital of the Saxon kingdom, and, after arranging affairs in that quarter, he led his forces directly towards York, where the report of re-enforcements from Germany, and the approach of winter, forced him to raise the siege; but, next summer, as soon as he again sat down before that city, the terror which his success in the former year had occasioned, induced it immediately to capitulate. Here he passed the winter, and all the nobility of the city and neighbourhood, assembling from every quarter in the latter end of December, spent their time in plays, drunkenness, and such debasing vices, as the season gives rise to, renewing the representation of the ancient Saturnalia, but doubling the number of days, and trebling them among the wealthy, on which it was reckoned unlucky to engage in any serious undertaking. Gifts were sent, and mutual and long visits interchanged among friends, and servants were released from all fear of punishment. Our countrymen call the festival, *Julia*, * substituting the name of *Cæsar*, for that of *Saturn*. The vulgar persuasion is, that these festivities celebrate the birth of Christ, when, in truth,

* *Yulia*, the consonant *J* being pronounced *Y*; hence, *Yule*, Christmas. The transference of Pagan jollities, to a Christian festival, in the celebration of *Yule*—Christmas—is well known; it was the instructions of the popes to their missionaries, not to alter the Heathenish rites, but to accommodate them to the holidays of the church; and it was a great complaint against the reformers in Scotland, that they abolished them, and even worked upon these days: “The ministers of Scotland,” says *Jhone Hamilton*, in his *Facile Traictise*, “in contempt of the ither halie dayes obseruit be England, cause thair wyfis and seruants spin, in oppen sicht of the peopil, upon *Yeul* day; and thair affectionat auditeurs constraines thair tennants to yok thair pleuchs on *Yeul* day, in contempt of *Christis* natiuitie; whilk our Lord hes not left unpunishit; for thair oxen ran wod, and brak thair nekis, and leamit sum pleughmen, as is notoriously knawin in sundrie parts of Scotland,” p. 174, 175. Our Scottish lexicographer, in his *Etymological Dictionary*, in a most amusing article, *Yule*, notices a number of conjectures, as to the origin of the name, and, among others, the one offered above, which he thinks an extremely improbable one. The account which he transcribes from *Mr. Pinkerton*, appears far more satisfactory: “It was originally the Gothic Pagan feast of *Yule*, or *Jul*.” Yet, that the Britons should borrow a feast from the Romans, to whom they were so long subject, was plausible enough, at least, as much so, as that they should have borrowed it, as some assert, from the Greek, *υλως*, a hymn in honour of *Bacchus*.

they refer, as is sufficiently evident, to the lascivious rites of a Bacchanalia, and not to the memorial of the Saviour's nativity.

xxv. In the meantime, the Saxons were reported to have advanced towards the Humber, and Arthur, on the first approach of spring, led out his troops against them. Exhausted by their pleasures, the Britons, as they tardily obeyed the calls of military duty, did not appear like the same men, who had defeated the Saxons in so many engagements, but seemed to have become enfeebled by their luxurious indolence, in proportion as they had relaxed the severity of their discipline. It was, therefore, suggested by the veterans, that assistance should be requested from the Scots and the Picts; which was readily obtained upon sending ambassadors to them, and those whom ambition had well nigh separated, regard for religion so conciliated, and emulation so inflamed, that the auxiliaries were despatched, by both kings, with a degree of celerity beyond conception. Lothus, likewise, that he might give a more public proof of his reconciliation, brought his sons, Modred, and Galvinus, to the camp along with him, and gave Galvinus to Arthur, as an attendant knight, who received him with so much courtesy, that from that time they spent their lives and ended their days together. The armies of the three kings being ready, and having effected a junction, as the danger was common to all, and the cause the same, it was agreed, by a great majority, that the Saxons should be expelled, and the Christian religion and worship, which had been profaned by them, should be purified and restored. When the hostile armies approached near to each other, Occa, the son of the former Occa, who then commanded the Saxons, was not backward to engage. The wings of the allied army were composed of the Scots and Picts, the centre was committed to the charge of Arthur; in the first charge of the Scots, Childeric, leader of the division of the enemy, opposed to them, having fallen wounded, the rest were so terrified at his disaster, that that whole wing was thrown into confusion. On the other wing, Colgernus, a Saxon, after loudly upbraiding the Picts for their perfidy, rushed furiously upon Lothus, conspicuous by his demeanour and armour, and unhorsed him, while he himself, surrounded in the midst of the enemy, fell, transfixed by two

adverse pikes. The centre, where the battle raged most fiercely, after the wings were dispersed, at length, likewise, gave way. Occa, wounded, was carried to the sea, and, along with as many others as there were room for in the vessels, was conveyed back to Germany. Of those who were left, they who continued pertinaciously to adhere to their errors were put to death; the rest saved their lives by a pretended profession of Christianity.

XXVI. There remained still in the east of England, and in Kent, strong bodies of Saxons. Against these Arthur marched in the summer following, having been joined by ten thousand Scots and Picts, the former commanded by Congallus, the son of Eugenius, and the latter by Modred, the son of Lothus; both young men of great promise, who had often distinguished themselves by their bravery and prudence. The armies of the three kings were stationed in three different camps, about five miles distant from the enemy, and the Saxons, having learned that the greatest negligence prevailed among the Picts, who lay at a considerable distance from the other forces, attacked them suddenly by night. Modred, although he long resisted them bravely, at last, almost despairing of safety, took horse, along with Gallanus, his father-in-law, and fled to Arthur. Undismayed at the disaster of the Picts, Arthur spent the day in restoring order, and having commanded his army to be ready by the third watch, he led them, arranged in three lines, against the enemy, and before the Saxons could receive the smallest notice of his movement, he arrived at their camp. The latter, while they ran about distracted, having had neither time for deliberating, nor for arming, were, on their ramparts being broken down, everywhere slain by the Britons, but chiefly by the enraged Picts, who unrelentingly massacred all without distinction. Some English historians relate, that Arthur was engaged in twelve pitched battles with the Saxons, but, as they mention nothing except the bare names of the places in which the battles are said to have taken place, I do not think it necessary to mention them farther. But, to sum up his exploits, it is allowed by all, that, having subdued the Saxon power, he preserved peace for all Britain; and while he went over to Brittany to settle affairs in

that country, he left the charge of his kingdom to Modred, his relation, to govern it as viceroy till his return; but as to his adventures in Gaul, I find nothing certain recorded. What Geoffry of Monmouth has related respecting these transactions, has not a shadow of resemblance to truth, I therefore omit them.

XXVII. But to return to our own history: while Arthur was absent, intent on settling the Gallic affairs, the seeds of a new war, and by far the most destructive of that age, were sown in Britain. There was in the retinue of the king of the Britons, Constantine, a son of Cadore, who, on account of his external appearance, and mental accomplishments, was an universal favourite. While he secretly aimed at the kingdom, and by degrees seduced the people to his views, the nobles, having found the king disengaged from other business, introduced the subject of a successor—entreating him to add this to the numerous benefits he had conferred on his country, lest dying without children, he should leave Britain without a king, especially in these times so big with the lowering prospects of war. On this, some one named Modred, as being nearly related to the king, and accustomed to command both in war and in peace, and who, in the deputed administration of the kingdom, had approved himself well qualified to reign, and would, likewise, bring no inconsiderable addition to the British territories. At the mention of this, it was vociferated by the multitude, who favoured Constantine, that they would have no stranger for a king, nor was Britain yet so unproductive of men, as not to be able to supply a ruler for herself from among the natives, and it was foolish to look abroad when they had plenty at home. Arthur, who had already perceived the affection of the people for Constantine, and being, besides, a gracious prince, easily yielded to the desires of his people, ennobled the young man, and, from that day, treated him as next heir to the crown. When the friends of Modred heard of this injustice, they were grievously offended, and affirmed, that by the treaty of Arthur with Lothus, it was secured that none should be preferred before the children of Lothus, in the succession of the kingdom. To this, it was replied, that that league was entered into from the necessity of the times, and in opposition

to the public advantage of the whole nation; nor was it now binding, Lothus, the author of it, being dead; and the Picts would do well if they would rest content with their own boundaries, and not intermeddle with those of their neighbours; that the kingdom of Britain, by the goodness of God, was now in a state, not only to prevent new injuries, but even to punish the old.

XXVIII. These speeches being told to Modred, entirely alienated his mind from Arthur, and he bent his attention wholly to the preservation of his dignity, only delaying a declaration of war, until he should have sounded the disposition of the Scots. They being induced to espouse his cause, he raised an army consisting of Scots, Picts, and such Britons as resorted to him, either convinced of the equity of his claims, from affection to his person, or from private hatred to Arthur. Nor was it thought that Vanora, the wife of Arthur, was ignorant of these revolutionary designs, as she was believed to have indulged an improper intercourse with Modred. Both armies advanced towards the Humber, and, when they had now approached near to each other, the bishops, on either side, made an attempt to reconcile the opponents, but in vain, Constantine's friends rejecting all proposals, and confidently asserting that every thing must fall before the good fortune of Arthur. The conflict which ensued, was urged with the keenest animosity on both sides; but Modred and his allies proved victorious, chiefly by the assistance of two auxiliaries, the one, a marsh in the middle of the plain, in which the Britons got entangled, and the other, a traitor, who, in the heat of the battle, spread a report of Arthur being killed, and gave the word to the Britons to shift every one for himself. This produced an immediate flight; yet, was there immense slaughter on both sides; nor was it a joyful victory to any. Among the invaders, Modred was killed, and his brother Galvinus wounded, and the hero, Arthur, received a mortal stroke. An enormous quantity of booty was taken. I am not ignorant that there are many fabulous accounts of the life and actions of Arthur, but they are unworthy of notice, and obscure the splendid actions of that illustrious man, as such falsehoods, so strongly asseverated, render the truth itself doubtful. He was certainly a

great man, and uncommonly distinguished by his bravery, his love for his country, in rescuing it from slavery, and in restoring and reforming the true worship of God. I have dwelt at greater length on his descent, life, and death, than the plan of my undertaking appeared to demand, which does not embrace all the transactions of the Britons, but only proposes to rescue from oblivion, and from idle and malicious fables, the history of our own nation. But, I have done so, because the most part of his deeds are either too sparingly detailed, through envy, or too verbosely, through vanity. He died, A. D. 542; having reigned twenty-four years.

XXIX. To return now to the affairs of Scotland—Goranus being old, died after a reign of thirty-four years, killed by treachery, as is believed. There was one Toncetus appointed justice-general, a man not less tyrannical than avaricious, who perpetrated many cruel deeds against the richer part of the community, expecting easily to procure pardon from the king, because the treasury derived some advantage from the confiscations. The people, who could not procure access readily to an old and infirm monarch, nor, if they could have done so, would they have been believed against his prime minister and confidential servant, exasperated at this conduct, rose upon Toncetus, and murdered him. After their fury began to cool, and they reflected on the crime they had committed, perceiving that they had left themselves no room to expect pardon, they turned their rage against the king himself, and, excited by Donald of Athole, broke into the palace and killed him.

XLVI. EUGENIUS III.

XXX. Eugenius, the son of Congallus, succeeded. When some of the nobility advised him to avenge the death of his uncle, he received their recommendation so coolly, that he created a suspicion of having himself been accessory to the treason; and this opinion was so greatly strengthened, by his receiving into his friendship and confidence, Donald, the Atholian, that the wife of Goranus, afraid for his young children, retired with them to Ireland. But Eugenius, that he might exculpate himself by his life and conduct, governed the

realm with such wisdom and equity, that he rivalled in reputation the best of our former kings. He never personally engaged in war with the neighbouring nations, but he assisted Modred, and Arthur, against the Saxons, and sent several predatory incursions, under different leaders, to harass the territories of the Angles. He never, however, sent any regular army against them. His reign lasted twenty-three years, and closed, 558.

XLVII. CONVALLUS.

XXXI. Convallus, the brother of the late king, was his successor, who governed the kingdom ten years in profound peace, and is worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance, on account of his splendid virtues; for, besides his equity in administering justice, and his invincible opposition to avarice, he vied in simplicity of life with the religious, who in that age exercised the strictest discipline. He enriched the priests with donations and other provisions, more with good intention than happy success. He restrained the youth, who, abusing the advantages of peace, were gliding into effeminacy and luxury, rather by the example and authority of his life, than by the severity of the law. He recalled the sons of Goranus, who, through fear of Eugenius, had fled into Ireland, but before their return he died, A. D. 568. He did not intermeddle with warlike affairs, except that he assisted, by his auxiliaries, the Britons against the Saxons, whom they often engaged with various fortune.

XLVIII. KINNATELLUS.

XXXII. Convallus being dead, and his brother Kinnatellus, appointed to the throne, Aidanus, the son of Goranus, came into Scotland, by the advice of that holy man, Columba, who, two years before, had come from Ireland. He was introduced by him to the king, who received him most graciously, far beyond his own expectation, or that of others, and encouraged him with the hope of soon succeeding to the kingdom. Meanwhile, Kinnatellus, worn out with disease and age, not being able to sustain the burden of the state, committed the charge of governing to Aidanus. He only survived this a short time,

dying fourteen, or, as some say, fifteen months after he began to reign. Some of our historians omit his name as king altogether, placing Aidanus immediately after Convallus, but the greater number of authors, place Kinnatellus between them.

XLIX. AIDANUS. *

xxxiii. Aidanus, nominated king by Kinnatellus, and confirmed by the voice of the people, received the ensigns of royalty from Columba,† for in such high authority was this holy man then held, that neither the prince nor the people would undertake any thing without his advice. When he had crowned the king, in a speech of considerable length, he exhorted him, to reign in equity, and admonished the people to a cheerful obedience, then raising his voice, he solemnly charged the

* Aidan. The reign of Aidan is the most luminous, and best authenticated from foreign authors—Tighernac, an Irish chronicler, the Annals of Ulster, Adomnan's life of Saint Columba, and the Saxon Chronicle—of any reign of a Scottish monarch, till the junction of the kingdoms of the Dalriad Scots and the Picts; and in all the material circumstances, all these different writers coincide with Buchanan. If then, when we find that wherever we can have recourse to unsuspicious testimony, that that testimony bears witness to the diligence and accuracy of our historian, it naturally follows, that where we can have no such reference, his statements are at least deserving of respect.

† Columba, a native of Ireland, was of royal descent. He was educated under St. Caran, and other Irish bishops. After founding some monasteries in Ireland, zeal for the propagation of Christianity, induced him to leave his country, and pass over into Britain. "The southern Picts being converted, he came," as Bede informs us, "to preach the word of God, to the provinces of the Northern Picts." lib. iii. cap. 4. "He arrived at the time that Bridius, [otherwise, Brudi] a most powerful king, reigned over the Picts, and in the ninth year of his reign, and converted that nation to the faith of Christ, by his preaching and example." He was attended by twelve companions, and founded the monastery, or college of Iona, a very different society from the later monkish institutions, for although they had a certain rule, and might deem certain regulations necessary for the preservation of order, their great design was, by communicating instruction, to train up others for the work of the ministry. These societies which sprung from them, became the seminaries of the church in Scotland. "They lived," says Bede, "after the example of the venerable fathers, by the labours of their own hands," [lib. iii. cap. 4.] and so far from reckoning the connubial relation inconsistent with their character, they appear to have held it in honour. Smith's Life of St. Columba. Jamieson's Hist. of the Culdees.

whole, that they should remain stedfast in the pure worship of God, and thus all would go well with them, but if otherwise, they might prepare for a miserable issue. Having performed this service, he departed. Aidanus' first expedition was against the robbers of Galloway, where he seized, and punished the leaders, and subdued the rest by the terror of the example; but a more severe tempest assailed him, on his return thence. Having held three conventions of the estates, in Galloway, Lochaber, and Caithness, he imagined that he had established peace every where, when a violent sedition broke out among the hunting parties, and much slaughter ensued. The king's officers, who afterward endeavoured to bring the guilty to justice, being obstructed, and repulsed in the performance of their duty, the offenders, in dread of punishment, fled into Lothian, to Brudeus, king of the Picts. These being demanded by ambassadors, in terms of an existing treaty, and refused to be delivered up, a sanguinary war was the consequence, but by the exertions of Columba, whose authority was deservedly high among both the Scots and the Picts, it was of short duration.

xxxiv. In the mean time, England became again divided into seven kingdoms, and the Britons were driven to the peninsula of Wales; the Saxons, however, not satisfied with their widely extended possessions, excited a new war between the Scots and the Picts. The chief firebrand was Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, an avaricious wretch, who, burning with the lust of extending his dominions, was impatient of peace. He persuaded the Picts, much against the inclination of Brudeus, to plunder the Scottish territories, and thus sow the seeds of war. Aidanus, who well knew the guile of the Saxons, in order, likewise, to strengthen himself by foreign assistance, renewed his ancient league with Malgo, the Briton. He sent his son Grifinus, and Brendinus, his sister's son—the governor of Eubonia, now called the Isle of Man—a military chief, with troops, who, joining his forces with the Britons, entered Northumberland, and came up with the enemy on the third day; but the English expecting fresh assistance, which they were informed could not be far distant, declined engaging. Cealinus, king of the East Saxons, a very warlike prince, was

fast advancing with a large body of forces, but the Scots and Britons having intercepted the first division of his army, which had far preceded the others upon the march, put the whole to the sword, his son Cutha being among the slain; fear lest they might be surrounded by Ethelfrid, who was not far distant, prevented them from attacking the rest. The two kings of the Saxons, however, effected their junction, and another furious engagement, ensued, with much carnage on both sides, in which the Scots and the Britons were routed, and put to flight. Grifinus, and Brendinus, chiefs of the Scots, fell; among their antagonists, Ethelfrid lost an eye, and Brudeus was carried from off the field dangerously wounded.

xxxv. Ethelfrid next summer, having joined his forces to those of the Picts, led them into Galloway, supposing, from the unfortunate battle of the former year, that he would find every place overwhelmed with terror, but Aidanus having come thither more rapidly than the enemy were expecting, attacked their straggling plunderers, and forced them to retire in trepidation to their camp. After this chastisement, naturally thinking they would not dare to stir, he, next night, passed their camp and joined the Britons. The two armies having effected a junction, encamped in the narrow vale of Annandale, where the enemy taking possession of the passes, threatened their destruction; but they, after fortifying their station as if they meant to remain, decamped in the night, during the recess of the tide, and marched through the quicksands by a ford with which they were acquainted, entered Cumberland, and thence crossed to Northumberland, making terrible havock along their line of march. The enemy followed their footsteps, and when the armies came in sight of each other, both prepared for a battle. The Scots and Britons, that they might restrain the rashness of the men by a sufficiency of officers, added to their former number four noblemen of skill and experience—Constantine and Mennerinus, Britons, and Calenus and Murdacus, from among the Scots, led and animated by whom, the soldiers rushed with such impetuosity upon the enemy, that they were instantly broken, and put to flight. It is reported that Columba told his companions in the island of Iona, of this victory, on the very hour in which it was achieved. There

were slain of the Saxon nobles in the battle, Cialinus, and Vitellius, both illustrious for their actions and descent.

xxxvi. About eleven years after this victory, the Saxons and Picts again harassed the border lands, a set time was in consequence, appointed, on which the Britons, and Scots, were to attack the Saxons. Aidanus, although far advanced in life, when the hour came appeared punctually at the place, and while he in vain expected the Britons, in the interval, drove away some plunder from the enemy. Ethelfrid, seizing this opportunity of proceeding with advantage against his opponents, attacked the straggling Scots, and inflicted upon them a sanguinary revenge. Aidanus, after severe loss, sought refuge in flight. Yet was not this victory bloodless to the Saxons. Theobald, the brother of Ethelfrid, fell, and several detachments which followed him, were wholly cut to pieces. Immediately after his defeat, Aidanus received intelligence of the death of Columba, that holy saint, so peculiarly dear to him, and foreseeing to what cruel persecution the remaining Christians would be exposed, worn out by age and wasted by grief, he expired soon after. Aidanus reigned thirty-four years, and died A. D. 604. In this reign, an ambitious monk, named Augustine, * came to Britain, sent by Gregory, the

* Augustine. He was originally sent as a missionary to the Saxons. "At his first arrival, he converted king Ethelbert to the Christian faith, and wrought much good, but whilst he strove to conform the British churches to the Roman, in rites ecclesiastic, and to have himself acknowledged for the only archbishop of Britain, he did cast the church into a sea of troubles. After diverse conferences, and much pains taken by him to persuade the Britons into conformity; when he could not prevail, he made offer, that if they would yield to minister baptism, and observe Easter, according to the Roman manner, and be assisting to him in reforming the Saxons, for all other things, they should be left to their ancient customs. But they refusing to make any alteration, he fell to threatening, and said, that they who would not have peace with their brethren should find war with their enemies. This falling out as he foretold—for Edelfrid, king of Northumberland, invading them with a strong army slew at one time, 1200 monks, who were assembled to pray for the safety of their countrymen—made Augustine to be suspected of the murder." Spottiswood's Hist. p. 12. Bede represents this calamity, as the effect of the prophecy delivered by the pious Augustine, but knowing the spirit of that church, which is emphatically said to be drunken with the blood of the saints, it is more than probable the prophecy was uttered, in consequence of a preconcert-

Roman pontiff, who, while he taught a new religion greatly deteriorated the old; for he did not so much inculcate the precepts of Christianity, as the Romish ceremonies. The Britons had at first heard the Gospel from the disciples of John the Evangelist, and were now instructed by monks, who, still were learned and pious. But the missionary, intent only upon reducing all under the dominion of the bishop of Rome, proclaimed himself sole archbishop of Britain—introduced a dispute, neither necessary nor useful, about the day for celebrating Easter, by which he mightily disturbed the church, and so loaded her ritual, already degenerating into superstition, with new ceremonies, and lying wonders, that scarcely a vestige of true piety remained.

L. KENNETH I.*

xxxvii. After Aidanus, Kenneth was elected king, of whom nothing stands upon record worth transcribing. He died in the fourth, or, as some say, the twelfth month of his reign.

ed plan. Referring to this period, Mosheim observes, “The ancient Britons and Scots persisted long in the maintenance of their religious liberty, and neither the threats, nor the promises of the legates of Rome, could engage them to submit to the decrees, and authority of the ambitious pontiff, as appears manifestly from the testimony of Bede.” The aversion of the ancient Britons and Scots to the rites, and doctrine of the Romish church is strongly manifested in an extract of a letter from Laurence, who succeeded Augustine as bishop of Canterbury, A. D. 605, to the Scots who inhabited Ireland, preserved by Bede. In this epistle he says, “When the See Apostolic sent us to these western parts, to preach to the pagan nations, and we happened to come into this island, which is called Britain, we held both the Britons and Scots in great esteem for sanctity, before we knew them, believing that they conducted themselves according to the custom of the universal church. But after we became acquainted with the Britons, we still imagined that the Scots had been better. We have, however, learned from bishop Dagan, who came into this aforesaid island, and from the abbot Columban in France, that the Scots no way differ from the Britons, in their behaviour. For bishop Dagan coming to us, not only refused to eat with us, but even to take his repast in the same house in which we were entertained.” Bede, lib. xi. cap. 4. Spottiswood, p. 12. This Dagan, came from the monastery of Banger, in Ireland, to be bishop to the Scots, and evidently treated the votaries of Rome, not excepting the bishop of Canterbury himself, as if they had been actually excommunicated. Jamieson’s Hist. Culdees, p. 221.

* Kenneth, or Connad Keir. In the old lists, published by Innes, is placed

LI. EUGENIUS IV.

XXXVIII. On the demise of Kenneth, Eugenius, the son of Aidanus, was proclaimed king, A. D. 605. According to the Book of Paisley, he was educated piously and wisely, by Columba, and even excelled in literary attainments; but afterward forsook his early pursuits, and addicting himself more to the study of war, than the arts of peace, harassed the Saxons and Picts, by his incessant incursions. His government was harsh and severe; yet although more inclined to coerce the proud and contumacious by the sword than reconcile them by lenity, he was merciful to those who voluntarily surrendered, and never appeared insolent in victory. Boethius, however, asserts, that the kingdom remained in profound peace during his whole reign, and that this peace was preserved, not so much by foreign alliances, as by

after Eugenius. Buchanan follows Fordun, and puts him immediately after Aidan. Writers, in general, agree that he only reigned about three months.

From the reign of Kenneth I. till that of Kenneth, the son of Alpin, an almost inextricable degree of confusion has been thrown into our history, from the jarring chronology of the various lists of our Scottish kings, and the attempts to reconcile the dates, with the dates, of an old Gaelic poem, of the Irish chronicles, and the Annals of Ulster. Buchanan has preferred following the series which Fordun, the father of Scottish history follows. Pinkerton, who stigmatizes Fordun's list, as a superfoetation of falsehood, rather chooses to adopt the series of the Albanic Duan, which, he tells us, is the oldest monument on the subject, and is a poem ascribed to Malcolm III's bard. Of the last part of the Gaelic poem, he says, "There can be no doubt, that it is totally erroneous throughout this part," and afterwards, "this latter part [is] untenable, as in the years assigned, it contradicts the best, and most numerous authorities." Enq. vol. ii. p. 109. And as it, [the Duan] mentions the Pikish line to have closed in Constantine, 821, which is demonstrably false, no dependance can be placed on the Gaelic bard's knowledge of the Pikish kingdom, nor of course, of the great event now treated of—the union of the Piks and Dalriads.—Again, Mr. P. says, "the original of this piece is supposed to be in the Psalter Cashail," p. 107. And of the Psalter Cashail, he exclaims, "How ridiculous would it be, to use arguments against Geoffrey of Monmouth, or the Psalter of Cashail!" p. 85. Yet it is upon the authority of this Duan, which he treats so unceremoniously, that Mr. P. desires us to believe Fordun's list to be the perfection of historical falsehood; while, at the same time he confesses, that he cannot see for what purpose Fordun falsified, except it were for the pure love of falsification.

the dissensions of his enemies, which produced constant civil wars among themselves; for the English, who inhabited the interior, now professing Christianity, while they were avenging some injuries which they had received from Ethelfrid, the powerful king of Northumberland, put an end to his life and his kingdom together. Edwin succeeded him, and the relations of Ethelfrid, among whom were seven sons and one daughter, fled into Scotland, in the tenth year of Eugenius' reign, who readily received the Saxon emigrants, although he knew them to be the most inveterate enemies of his country and his religion; treated them with the greatest humanity and liberality as long as he lived, and caused them to be diligently instructed in the doctrines of Christianity. He died in the sixteenth year of his reign, to the universal regret of all his people.

LII. FERCHARD.

xxxix. Ferchard, his son, succeeded Eugenius, A. D. 622, the thirteenth year of the emperor Heraclius. He was a man mischievously crafty, who wished to change a legitimate government into a tyranny, and, to accomplish his design, encouraged factions among the nobility, thus thinking he might perpetrate his nefarious project with impunity. But the nobles, perceiving his atrocious intention, secretly composed the differences insidiously excited among them, then calling an assembly, summoned the king to appear, and, on his refusal, stormed the castle which he had fortified, and dragged him unwillingly to trial. Many and heavy charges were preferred against him, particularly, he was accused of the Pelagian heresy, contempt of baptism, and the other sacred ordinances, from which, when he could not clear himself, he was thrown into prison, where, that he might not longer be exposed to contempt, he put himself to death, in the fourteenth year of his reign.

LIII. DONALD IV.*

xl. Donald, or Donevald, was raised to the throne, on the decease of his brother. Admonished equally by the wretch-

* Donald IV. or Donald Brec. Mr. Pinkerton, and Chalmers, both adhere to the old lists, and the Annals of Ulster, and pass over the notices of this

ed end of his immediate predecessor, and the cherished renown of his father, he assiduously applied himself not only to promote true religion in his own dominions, but, by every rational method, endeavoured to diffuse it wherever it appeared practicable. After the death of Edwin, he assisted the children and relations of Ethelfrid, who had been long exiled in Scotland, secured their return home, loaded them with presents, and escorted them with his own troops; at the same time, giving them full liberty of passing, and repassing, whenever their exigencies might require. Edwin was slain, according to Bede, by Kedualla, king of the Britons, and Penda, king of the Mercians, the one incited by ancient hatred to his nation, and the other by a new hatred to his Christianity, but both equally inflamed with a desire for his possessions. Nor does any more cruel victory stand upon record. For whilst Penda endeavoured to exterminate the Christians, and Kedualla to destroy the Saxons, their fury spared neither age nor sex. After Edwin, Northumberland was divided into two kingdoms; Osric, cousin-german to Edwin, was created king of the Deiri, and Eanfrid, as he is named by Bede, or Andefrid, as he is called by our historians, the eldest son of Ethelfrid, king of the Bernici. Each of these having renounced Christianity, in which they had been carefully instructed, the one by the Scottish monks, and the other by the Bishop Paulinus, returned to the old superstition, and, shortly after, were deprived both of their lives and kingdoms, by Penda. Oswald, a son of Ethelfrid, succeeded to the dominions of both, who greatly promoted the

king's reign, given by Bede; Buchanan follows the venerable historian, and Fordun. The children of Ethelfrid, here mentioned, were the celebrated Ebba, and her seven brothers: "From her, the promontory of St. Abb's Head, is said to derive its name. When fleeing for refuge to Scotland, she was driven on some part of the coast near this headland, and afterwards built a chapel on the promontory, at her own expense," *Statist. Acct.* xii. 57. According to the *Aberdeen Breviary*, she, and her brothers, were kindly received and nourished by Donald Brec, king of the Scots. The teachers sent by Donald, were, first, Cormac, who being a man of too austere manners, and disagreeable to the people, returned to Iona, and Aidan, who was ordained by the abbot and presbyters of that college, was sent in his room. Bede, lib. iii. cap. 3. He had the small island of Lindisfarn, now Holy Island, assigned him for the seat of his bishopric.

profession of Christianity. At his request, Donald sent him teachers from Scotland, distinguished for their piety and learning, whom he received with great kindness, and treated with much liberality. Nor did he think it a mean office in a king, to interpret to his people, in their public assemblies, the sermons of the preachers, which, being delivered in the Scottish language, were not sufficiently understood by them; all this is distinctly recorded by Bede. Donald died in the fourteenth year of his reign, leaving behind him, a delightful remembrance of his virtues.

LIV. FERCHARD II.

XLII. Ferchard, the brother's son of Ferchard, succeeded Donald. He was inimitable in every species of wickedness, being equally insatiable in his thirst for wine and money, of immeasurable cruelty towards man, and impiety towards God. After he had exercised his inhumanity and rapine every where upon strangers, he, at last, turned his fury upon his own family, murdering his wife, and debauching his daughters. For these enormities he was excommunicated; and the nobles being about to assemble in order to punish him, the holy Bishop Colman prohibited them, at the same time warning him in their presence, that divine vengeance would speedily overtake him. Nor was it a faithless prediction, for in a few days after, when hunting, he was wounded by a wolf, and fevered in consequence; yet would he not abstain from his accustomed intemperance, till his body being covered with a loathsome disease, he is said to have exclaimed—this had justly happened to him, for despising the excellent admonitions of Colman. But, on his deathbed, having acknowledged his error, Colman consoled him with the hope of pardon, if he truly repented; on which, clothed in a mean garment, he ordered himself to be carried abroad in a litter, and having made public confession of his crimes, died, A. D. 668. Eighteen years did Scotland endure this monster.

LV. MALDUINUS.

XLIII. Malduinus, the son of Donald, was placed upon the throne, in the room of Ferchard, who, in order to heal the

wounds inflicted upon the kingdom by the tyranny of the last king, made peace with all his neighbours. But while he obtained external rest from the enemy, he was disturbed by an internal sedition, that arose among the inhabitants of Argyle and Lennox. Malduinus, in order to repress these disturbances, marched in person against the instigators, that he might punish them without distressing the common people. They, however, hearing of his approach, settled their private quarrels, and, to avoid his anger, fled to the Æbudæ. On being demanded thence, that they might be brought to punishment, the islanders, who dared not refuse, delivered them up, and a few having suffered, the rest returned to their duty. About this time, it happened, that, after the Scottish monks had disseminated the knowledge of the Christian religion widely through England, and so instructed the English youth in letters, that they appeared sufficiently capable of preaching the gospel to their countrymen, a spirit of envy towards their instructors arose, in proportion as they imagined themselves their equals in learning; and their disinclination towards the Scots proceeded so far, that they forced them to return to their own country; which affront, though it disturbed the concord of the kingdoms, yet, such was the moderation of those who had sustained the wrong, that they restrained both nations from decided hostilities. Constant inroads, however, took place in many parts, and several skirmishes were fought. At this period, a plague desolated the whole of Europe, such as never has been recorded by the most ancient historians, the Scots and Picts, alone, are said to have escaped. And, now, when the frequent injuries sustained by both, and their mutual plunderings, were about to break out in an open war, the death of Malduinus intervened, after he had reigned twenty years. His wife suspecting him of infidelity, strangled him, and was herself burned alive, four days after.

LVI. EUGENIUS V.

XLIII. Eugenius the fifth, a son of King Dongardus, next began his reign. When Egfrid, king of Northumberland, with whom he was anxious to cultivate a peaceful intercourse as far as possible, endeavoured to deceive him by insidious leagues,

he met his attempts by similar artifice, and while both of them ostensibly sought conciliation, each secretly prepared for war. At last, Egfrid, putting an end to the truces, in opposition to the advice of his friends, joined his forces with the Picts, invaded Scotland, and wasted Galloway; but the Picts deserting him in battle, he was overcome by Eugenius, and, having lost almost the whole of his army, escaped, after being grievously wounded, with a few followers. Next year, equally in opposition to the advice of his friends, he marched against the Picts, who, pretending flight, drew him into an ambush, where he was cut off with his whole army. The Picts, seizing so fair an opportunity, recovered the extensive possessions previously wrested from them; and the Britons, who had shaken off the yoke of the English, entered Northumberland, along with the Scots, and spread such wide destruction there, that it has never yet regained its former prosperity. The death of Eugenius immediately followed, in the fourth year of his reign.

LVII. EUGENIUS VI.

XLIV. Eugenius the sixth, the son of Ferchard, succeeded Eugenius the fifth. In Northumberland, Alfrid, succeeded, his brother Egfrid. Both kings were profound scholars, according to the literature of the times, especially in theology, and, closely united together by the bonds of their common studies, peace was faithfully preserved between them. Alfrid improved this period of tranquillity for adjusting his kingdom, now confined within straiter boundaries than formerly. With the Picts, the Scots had neither certain peace nor open war. Mutual aggressions and skirmishings, of various success, were frequent, Cuthbert, an English, and Adomnan, a Scottish bishop, striving in vain to reconcile them; it so happened, however, that no pitched battle was fought. In the meantime, Eugenius, who was inflamed with the most inextinguishable hatred against the Picts, was cut off in the midst of his career, after he had reigned ten years. There is a tradition, that, during this king's reign, for seven days together, it rained blood over all Britain, and, that even the milk, cheese, and butter, were converted into blood.

LVIII. AMBERKELETH.

XLV. After Eugenius VI. Amberkeleth, the son of Findanus, nephew of Eugenius V. obtained the kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, he pretended a love to temperance, but soon returned to his true character, and rushed headlong into all vice. Seizing this opportunity, Garnard, king of the Picts, having assembled a great army, invaded Scotland. Amberkeleth was with difficulty roused to take arms, but, at last, having done so, during night, when he had retired upon a necessary occasion, attended by two servants, he was killed by an arrow shot by an unknown hand, ere he had yet completed the second year of his reign. Some say, that while he pressed close upon the enemy in a thick wood, he received a mortal wound, and died in ten days after.

LIX. EUGENIUS VII.

XLVI. In order that the army might not be disbanded, nor remain without a chief, Eugenius VII. brother of the former monarch, was proclaimed in the camp, by military suffrage. He, however, placing little confidence in an army collected by so indolent a king, suspended the war by a truce, and having accepted Spondana, the daughter of Garnardus, for his wife, finished it by the nuptials. She, however, was murdered not long after by two Athol men, who, having conspired against the king, by mistake stabbed her in bed. The king was falsely accused of the crime, and ordered to stand trial, but, before the cause came to be heard, the perpetrators of the murder being taken, he was liberated. The criminals were put to death with the most exquisite tortures. All foreign wars being settled, Eugenius directed his attention to the labours of peace, occasionally enjoying the relaxation of hunting; but the care of religion was his chief object. He first ordered that a record of the affairs of the kingdom should be preserved in the monasteries. After an uninterrupted peace, with all his neighbours, of seventeen years' duration, he ended his days at Abernethy.

LX. MORDAC.

XLVII. Eugenius VII., a little before his death, recommended Mordac, the son of Amberkeleth, to his nobles, as his successor. During his reign there was peace over all Britain, of which, mention is made by Bede, at the end of his history. He emulated Eugenius, not only in preserving peace, but in endowing monasteries. Whitehern, which had been destroyed, was repaired by him. He died when entering upon the sixteenth year of his reign.

LXI. ETFINUS.

XLVIII. In the year seven hundred and thirty of the Christian era, Etfinus, the son of Eugenius VII. assumed the government, and, emulating the conduct of the preceding kings, maintained the most undisturbed tranquillity for thirty-one years, during which he reigned. When he grew old, and could not perform the duties of a king personally, he appointed four officers to administer justice to the people. While these governed Scotland, some licentious profligates, resuming their former habits through the negligence or misconduct of the magistrates, began to create universal confusion; but the cruelty and tyranny of Donald,* threw the crimes of every other into shade. He, spreading devastation over Galloway, compelled the landholders either to pay him tribute, or reduced them to beggary by his spoliations.

LXII. EUGENIUS VIII.

XLIX. In the midst of these troubles, the king dying, Eugenius VIII. the son of Mordac, ascended the throne. His first enterprise was against Donald, whom having worsted in many bloody engagements, he in the issue took prisoner, and, to the general joy of the people, brought to a public execution. Mordac, the governor of Galloway, an associate of Donald's, on being convicted of a participation in his crimes, was put to death; the other governors he punished by a pecuniary fine, and, from their effects, made reparation to the people whom

* Of the *Æbudæ*.

they had robbed. The turbulent being overawed by the terror of these punishments, the greatest calm was restored after the most violent tempest, and it was accompanied by a renewal of all the ancient leagues with the neighbouring kings. But he who had shone so resplendently in troublous times, in peace rushed headlong into atrocity and crime. Nor could the advice of his friends, or the admonitions of the priests, produce any impression upon him; he was, therefore, put to death, in an assembly of the nobles, by the consent of the whole. The ministers of his follies were hanged,—a grateful exhibition to those who had suffered from their oppression.

LXIII. FERGUSIUS III.

I. Fergusius III., son of Etfinus, succeeded, who by similar pretensions to virtue, and the practice of similar low vices, met with a similar fate, almost in a similar space of time; for he retained the kingdom but three years, and died of poison administered by the queen. Others relate, that when she had often reproached him with his contempt for his marriage vow, and his numerous mistresses, and could produce no alteration in his conduct, she, with her own hands, strangled him one night when asleep. On inquiry being instituted into the manner of his death, and many of his friends being impeached, as none of them, when exposed to the most exquisite tortures, made any confession, the queen, though naturally of a stern and fierce disposition, yet pitying the sufferings of so many innocent persons, appeared in the midst of the assembly, and, from an elevated situation, acknowledged that she had put the king to death; then, lest she should have been exposed to public contumely, instantly thrust a dagger into her bosom; a deed variously designated according to different opinions at the time.

LXIV. SOLVATHIUS.

II. King Solvathius, son of Eugenius VIII. followed; who, if he had not contracted the gout in his limbs from cold, in the third year of his reign, might have been justly enumerated among the most excellent of kings; yet, notwithstanding, by his prudence and wisdom in the choice of his officers, he suc-

cessfully repressed all tumults. First, Donald Bane*—that is White—imagining himself secure from attack, on account of the distemper in the king's feet, having seized upon all the western islands, proclaimed himself king of the *Æbudæ*; and afterward made a ruinous and plundering irruption into the continent. Being attacked by Cullen, leader of the Argyle men, and Ducal, chief of Athol, he was driven into a wood, that had only one outlet, which, vainly attempting to force, he perished with all his followers. With the same hopes, and the same audacity, Gilcombus attacked Galloway, where his father had played the tyrant, but he was vanquished by the same generals, and suffered the punishment due to the attempt. Solvathius, in the meantime, enjoyed peace with the English and Picts, who were sufficiently employed with their own internal disturbances, and, after he had reigned with the greatest approbation about twenty years, died, A. D. 787.

LXV. ACHAIUS.

LII. Achaius, the son of Etfinus, succeeded. He confirmed the peace with the English and the Picts, and understanding that war was threatened from Ireland, by strenuous exertion, and by liberal gifts, settled the seditions which were upon the point of breaking out at home. The cause of the Irish war was this:—The former king being incapable of undertaking any expedition, the Irish, and Islanders, instigated by the

* Donald Bane. The honourable name of Douglas, is by tradition said to have originated on this occasion; for this Donald being enclosed by the king's army in a narrow pass, turned in desperation upon them, and threw them into confusion, when a chieftain with his sons and retainers, turned the tide of battle, rallied the fugitives, and gained the victory, the usurper being slain with the greater part of his troops. The king, who was at some distance, having been informed of the peril of his army, was hastening to their assistance, when he was agreeably stopt by the news of this nobleman's successful achievement. On asking for the hero, Sholto Duglas, Gael.—see that dark man—was the reply; aye SHOLTO DUGLAS, said the king, and by this name he was afterwards distinguished.

The real origin of this family, however, which once contended with royalty, and was alternately the pride and the scourge of the kingdom, is obscure. Chalmers traces it back to Theobald the Fleming, and his heirs, who received a grant of some lands, on the Douglas water in Lanarkshire, from Arnold, the bishop of Kelso, sometime between 1147—1160, whose son, William, inherit-

hopes of plunder and impunity, landed both at the same time, with formidable armies, on the neighbouring promontory of Cantyre; but a quarrel arising among the robbers, many of the Islanders, and almost all the Irish were slain. To avenge this disaster, the Irish fitted out a large fleet to pass over to the Æbudæ; on which, Achaius, by his ambassadors, represented—that it was no just cause of complaint, if robbers fighting for plunder had fallen by mutual violence; nor should it be deemed a misfortune that many had perished, but rather that any had escaped; besides, the king and his council were so far from offering any injury to the Irish, that they inflicted punishment on the authors of the late slaughter. The Irish, however, rejected so indignantly every argument the ambassadors could urge, that, even before their departure, they despatched their fleet against the Albin Scots; but it had scarcely put to sea, when it was overtaken with a tempest, and the whole perished. Accounting this disaster a mark of Divine displeasure, the Hibernians were, in consequence, induced humbly to implore that peace they had before so haughtily refused.

LIII. The first treaty of alliance,* between the French and ed the estate, and first assumed, as was the custom of the age, the title, “de Duglas.”

* Lord Hailes, in his remarks on the history of Scotland, expresses, in a long dissertation, his doubts as to the historical evidence of the famous alliance between Achaius, and the emperor Charlemagne. With the improbable addition of the four thousand men sent to France, and the debates in the Scottish parliament, upon the subject, which his lordship justly ridicules Buchanan has nothing to do; in this, he has not copied the fables of Boyce. Lord Hailes, as he was the ablest, so he was the most severe critic that ever examined Scottish history; yet he seems to have taken for granted, without turning up the passage, that Buchanan copied Boyce, for, after a full examination of the evidence, he allows all that is requisite for the validity of our historian's account; this is distinctly stated in Lord Elibank's Letter to Lord Hailes, reprinted in the III. Vol. of the Annals of Scotland, 1819; “You tell us, the only cotemporary, writer of reputation quoted in proof of it [the alliance] is Eginhart. If Eginhart is the only cotemporary writer of reputation that exists, it ought not to seem surprising that he is the only one quoted to prove it. But you admit his *authority as undoubted*, the only question then is, whether he says enough to establish the existence of this alliance? He certainly does in the very passage quoted by your lordship; it is literally this—Charlemagne, by means of his munificence, had got the

the Scots, was entered into by Achaius, the origin of which was, to oppose the Saxons, not only those who inhabited Germany, but those also who had settled in Britain, and infested the coasts of Gaul by their piratical incursions; besides, Charlemagne, who desired to illustrate France not less by letters than by arms, wished to procure from Scotland professors to teach Philosophy, Greek, and Latin, in the college of Paris; as there still, at that time, remained in Scotland many religious—for the ancient discipline was not yet extinct—who were distinguished by their literary attainments and piety; of whose number, was John, surnamed Scotus, or Albinus—the same name, the Scots being called Albins in their own language—the preceptor of Charles, who left many monuments of his genius, one of which I have seen, his *Rhetorica Precepta*, [*Rhetorical Precepts*,] with the inscription of Joannes Albinus. There remain, likewise, to this day, some writings of Clement, a Scot, who was at the same time an eminent professor of learning at Paris. There were also many Scottish monks who went over to Gaul, induced by their love of religion, who preached Christianity to the dwellers on the banks of the Rhine with such success, that they founded monasteries in many places, and the Germans have still so great a respect for their memory, that, even in our day, the Scots are always intrusted with their direction.

LIV. The Pictish affairs dragged Achaius, though desirous of

kings of the Scots so disposed to comply with his inclinations, that they constantly pronounced themselves his subjects and servants. Letters of theirs to this purpose do now exist. This implies as much as ever was asserted by any Scottish author of character; the question never was about the terms of the treaty:” “Our treaty with the Cherokees is an alliance. Your lordship *admits* that missi, or nuncii, as quoted by Fordun from Alcuin’s letter to Offa, were sent by Charlemagne to the kings of the Scots, you honour these *missi* with the title of *ambassadors*, and you conjecture that the subject of the embassy was religious, &c.” pp. 136–7. Eginhart was the chancellor and biographer of Charlemagni, Alcuin was his governor.

There was a Clement, a Culdee, who appears to have been a learned man, and who was burned for his opposition to the Pope, much about this time; there is also one Samson, a Scot, who was bishop of Auxere, and who is distinguished from an Irish bishop; which shows that the term, Scots, was then applied to the North Britons, and, also, that learned men from thence went to the continent,” *Hist. of the Culdees of Iona*, p. 237.

peace, into war, for when Athelstane, the Angle, wasted the neighbouring country of the Picts, Hungus their king, obtained from Achaius, already incensed against the English, ten thousand Scots, under the command of his son Alpin, the nephew of Hungus, and trusting to their assistance, he carried off immense plunder from Northumberland. Athelstane, a ferocious warrior, following close upon his route, overtook him not far distant from the town of Haddington. The Picts surprised by the unexpected advance of the enemy, flew to arms, and maintained their ground until the evening. During the night, after having set the watches, Hungus, who considered, that without Divine assistance all human efforts would be of little avail, devoted himself wholly to prayer, till, worn out with bodily fatigue and mental anxiety, he fell into a slumber, in which there appeared to him St. Andrew,* the apostle, who promised him a glorious victory. This vision being narrated to the Picts, flushed them with the hope, and they prepared with alacrity for the conflict, which they had now no means of escaping. The next day being spent in skirmishing, they came on the third, to a regular engagement. It is added, that a decussated cross appeared visible in the heavens, when they were about to engage, which so terrified the English, that they were scarcely able to withstand the first attack of the Picts; Athelstane having been killed here, is said to have given his name to the place, which to this day is called Athelstaneford. Hungus, who ascribed the victory which he had achieved, to the power of St. Andrew, besides other donatives, appropriated to his service, a tenth part of the royal demesnes. I am of opinion that this Athelstane was the Danish chief, to whom, according to the English historians, Northumberland was ceded by Alfred. Achaius died in the thirty-second year of his reign, A. D. 819.

LXVI. CONGALLUS III.

LV. Congallus, the cousin-german of Achaius, was his suc-

* The legend of the vision of St. Andrew, is contained in "A history of the blessed Regulus, and the foundation of the church of St. Andrew," in the Register of St. Andrews, written about A. D. 1140.

cessor. He reigned five years in profound peace, both at home and abroad.

LXVII. DONGALLUS.

LVI. Next to Congallus, Dongallus, the son of Solvathius, assumed the government. The Youth who could not endure his austerity, waited upon Alpin, the son of Achaius, and when they could not by persuasion, induce him to usurp the government, forced him by violence and threats, to join in their conspiracy. An army was soon raised, but while he pretended he would be directed entirely by them, he seized the first opportunity of thwarting their measures and going over to Dongallus. This action as beneficial to the king as baneful to the rebels, induced them to accuse Alpin of being the chief instigator of the rebellion; but the king, who perfectly appreciated the nature of the calumny, instantly assembled an army, came upon the insurgents before they were aware, and having taken many prisoners, inflicted upon them exemplary punishment. In the mean time Hungus died, and his eldest son, Dorstologus, was treacherously slain by his brother Egan, who did not long survive the murder. The male line of Hungus being thus extinct, Alpin, his sister's son, demanded the kingdom, as being the next heir, both by law and consanguinity. The Picts having peremptorily refused him, as a stranger, Dongallus sent ambassadors to them, to urge his claim, but they not only would not hear them upon the subject, but ordered them to leave their territories within four days; on which Dongallus prepared for war with his whole strength; in the midst of his preparations, however, he was drowned crossing the Spey, an extremely rapid river, the small boat in which he was passing, having upset. He reigned six, or, according to some writers, seven years over Scotland.

LXVIII. ALPIN.

LVI. Alpin, the son of Achaius, led the army raised by Dongallus, against Federethus, who arrogated to himself the sovereignty of the Picts, and the hostile armies having encountered each other at Restenet, a small village in Angus, a sanguinary conflict ensued, which continued, till night closed

upon an uncertain victory. The death of Federethus appeared to give the Scots the honour of the day; for he, when he saw the spirits of his men beginning to droop in battle, rushed with a band of noble youths, into the midst of the Scots, where, being cut off from the main army, he fell, together with the flower of his nobility. Brudus, an indolent, and unwarlike character, was chosen in his stead. The Picts, under him, having their possessions plundered by the Scots without resistance, in an organized insurrection, put him to death, before he had been one year upon the throne. Kenneth, another son of Federethus, was substituted; but he was neither braver in war, nor more fortunate in his end. For, when the army, which he had collected, arrived in sight of the enemy, having withdrawn secretly from the field, he was slain by a rustic, who was ignorant of his rank, but exasperated at his cowardice. The Picts deprived of their king, before their enemies were informed of their loss, returned home, and chose another Brudus in his room, a man, noble both by descent and conduct. He instantly upon accepting the crown, attacked the straggling plunderers, and chastised their temerity by a prodigious slaughter; and, that he might invigorate the wasted strength of his countrymen by foreign auxiliaries, he sent ambassadors to the nearest English with magnificent presents, who accepted his gifts, and promised him assistance, but performed nothing, alleging their own domestic commotions, as an excuse.

LVIII. The Picts, disappointed in all their expectations, having pressed into the service every man among themselves capable of bearing arms, prepared for the last struggle, and marched straight against the enemy, who were encamped not far from Dundee. When the hostile forces came within sight of each other, the battle instantly commenced, with all that fury which ancient hatred recently exasperated, many mutual slaughters, and frequent injuries were calculated to inflame. After the struggle had continued long doubtful, at last, a hundred Pictish cavalry arose from an ambush, who, in order that they might appear more numerous, placed the camp attendants upon the baggage horses, in array upon the neighbouring hills, as if they were coming round to attack

the opposite combatants in rear; by which stratagem, they struck such terror into the Scots, that they instantly scattered, and fled into the nearest woods, whither the greater part escaped in safety; a few only were slain in battle, the chief carnage was in the flight by the baggage servants. Alpin, with the chief of his nobles, were taken prisoners, and put to death. The head of the king, fixed upon a pole, was carried round the whole army, and afterward placed as a spectacle, in the most conspicuous part of their metropolis, which at that time was Abernethy. The spot where Alpin was slain, is to this day, called Bas Alpin, that is, the fall of Alpin.*

LXIX. KENNETH II.

LIX. Alpin being slain after a reign of three years, Kenneth, his son, succeeded him. Next summer, the Picts, who entertained strong hopes that they might easily expel the Scots from Britain, as had formerly been done, having procured the assistance of several bodies of English troops, assembled as numerous a force as they possibly could; but a sedition broke out among themselves, so suddenly, and with so much violence,

* Chalmers dates the accession of Alpin, 833; according to Buchanan, it should be 831—no great difference. The undoubted descent of Alpin, from Fergus, the son of Erc, Chalmers asserts, may be traced from obvious information, and genealogical authority; the date of 833, is also stated in Innes' App. It is, however, necessary to remark, that a considerable difficulty in our history arises to common readers, from our ancient historians using Latin terms for the names of our kings, and the affectation of later writers, who, whether they understand them or not, put down the names in Gaelic spelling, which, to the English reader, is certainly the most uncouth, and barbarous of all orthoepey that ever was invented. Thus, they make the predecessor of Alpin, *D' Eocha' annuine mac Adoch-fin*, which Fordun and Buchanan, make Dongallus.

The genealogy in Buchanan in general, differs only by the different spelling of the names, and it is wonderful to see what amazing attachment some of our antiquaries profess for the sound of a letter, which it is likely their ancestors sounded very differently from themselves. He, in fact, in general, differs only by the different mode in which he spelled the names, as he smoothed them down to the elegance of Latin, and our common writers bring us back to the harshness of our native tongue. The ridiculous attachment to the old Gaelic mode of spelling, is wofully absurd; who, for instance, but an inveterate antiquarian, would ever print Guaran, for Gongarus; Eocha-Rineval, for Ethus; Ferchar-Fada, for Fergus; Ain-a Bilach, for Aidan?

that Brudus, their king, not being able to quell it, the army disbanded, and he died in about three months after, rather of grief than of disease. Druskenus, his brother, succeeded him; and while he in vain endeavoured to re-establish internal tranquillity, some Scottish youth having taken down the head of Alpin, from where the Picts had affixed it, brought it to Kenneth. These young men were not only rewarded by honours for this exploit, but were also enriched by a grant of lands from the king. Kenneth having summoned an assembly, when the question respecting war was debated, although he, and the most violent of the young nobility, advised the exaction of ample revenge from their perfidious enemies, yet the majority, and those chiefly of age and experience, thought this should be deferred until the strength wasted by former wars should be recruited; and, in the meantime, that neither peace should be sought, nor war carried on, until either some stronger necessity enforced pacification, or a better opportunity presented itself for carrying on hostilities. These sentiments having prevailed, by the tacit consent of both nations, peace continued for the next three years.

LX. In the fourth year, Kenneth, desirous of war, when he found few supporters of his opinion, in a convention of his nobles invited the leaders among them to an entertainment, and, when the conviviality had been agreeably though unduly prolonged, persuaded the whole to remain over night in the palace, which they did the more easily, as, according to the custom of their ancestors, they stretched themselves upon the ground, in a spacious hall, wherever they could find room to lie down, their only couch being leaves or grass strewed on the floor. When they were all asleep, the king having instructed a youth, a relation of his own, clothed him in the skins of fishes—chiefly of the cod species—dried in the wind, and directed him to enter during the night, and in a loud voice, emitted through a long tube, that it might strike their ears more forcibly, as a voice sent from heaven, exhort them to war. The youth having performed his part, the nobles at the sound of this voice more awful, as it seemed to them, than human, were suddenly aroused, and the greater number, still heavy with wine and scarcely awake, when the silvery effulgence struck and dazzled

their half open eyes, were universally seized with incomprehensible amazement at beholding the unusual apparition, and an indescribable awe overpowered their minds. Nor was that astonishment abated, when the messenger having laid aside his shining dress, and withdrawing through a secret passage, suddenly vanished from their sight. In the morning, the story was carried to the king, with many additions, as is usual in such cases, and he pretending that a similar vision had appeared to him in his sleep, the whole nobles unanimously declared for war, as if God himself had now authorized the undertaking.

LXI. The armies having taken the field, as soon as they came within sight of each other, without waiting for the command of their leaders, each sprung forward upon his nearest enemy; nor was the battle less fiercely maintained than eagerly commenced; at last, victory inclined towards the Scots, the aid upon which the Picts placed their greatest confidence, proving their ruin; for the English forces, when they perceived the engagement conducted without order under the rash impulse of rage, withdrew to a neighbouring hill, whence they looked on as unconcerned spectators. The immense slaughter of the Picts, arose not only from the ancient hatred of the Scots, but from the recollection of their recent cruelty to Alpin, and those who had been taken captive along with him; and, remember Alpin, the watchword of the Scots, so inflamed their minds, that neither age nor rank was spared. The hills covered the retreat of the English; and the Scots were prevented from pursuing them, by the pertinacious fury with which they wreaked their vengeance on the Picts. *

* The total extirpation of the Picts, a nation once equally, at least, if not more powerful than the Scots in North Britain, roundly asserted in our ancient writers, being a circumstance so extremely improbable, has led some modern enquirers to suppose, that the opposite must of necessity be true—that the Picts must have extirpated the Scots of the Lowlands, or, at any rate, conquered them. Mr. Pinkerton, who favours this last opinion, and who so vehemently ridicules our ancient historians as “insane fablers, and as exposing themselves to the derision of Europe, for supposing the extirpation of a nation in a corner of Britain,” forgets, for the moment, that his theory of the history of our country proceeds upon the supposition of the extirpation of the whole aboriginal Britons—the primitive Gael, excepting the few who found

LXII. By this victory, the affairs of the Picts were reduced to so low, and almost hopeless a state, that they endeavoured to procure a peace upon any terms from the Scots, but in vain; the Scots would hear of no conditions except the complete surrender of the kingdom. Next year, all the places lying north of the Forth were delivered up, and garrisons placed in them. But while Kenneth led his forces against those on this side, he received intelligence, that some of the garrisons whom he had left behind him were slain, on which he returned with his army against the rebels, spared no human being of the Pictish race, and wasted the whole district with fire and sword. The Picts being enraged almost to madness by this cruelty, Druskenus, when he perceived that he must now fight, not for his kingdom, but for his own life, and that of his people, gathered together all the force he could collect, and passing the Forth, he advanced to Scoon, a town on the banks of the Tay, where he awaited the Scots. There he again made another fruitless attempt at pacification, and offered to cede all the territories of the Picts, on the north side of the Forth, but the Scots still refused to listen to any thing short of an unconditional surrender of their whole possessions. The battle which ensued, in this last extreme necessity, was dark and bloody, but the desperate resistance of the Picts, was at length broken, and, forced to fly, the river Tay was the cause of their final destruction. Druskenus, not being able to effect a passage, was there slain, with almost the whole of his nobility. Nor was the fortune of the rest very dissimilar, who, when they had refuge in Ireland, a supposition not less extravagant, than the extirpation of the Picts. But the extirpation of the latter, it is evident, could only in its utmost latitude, apply to the nobles and military population, and the conquerors, must in succeeding ages, have mingled, and been lost in the remains of the vanquished. Whatever ornament or exaggeration there may be in the story which Buchanan has told, he found it in Fordun, lib. iv. cap. 4. and it bears every mark of being true in its leading features, and that is perhaps, as much as can be expected from any history of that age. It is impossible, considering the then state of society, to allow the probability of a peaceable transference of the Pictish crown to the chief of Dalriada, or, as our historian styles him, the Scottish monarch; it must have been by violence, and in the overturn of a monarchy in that barbarous age, the destruction of all those who had supported, or could contribute to revive it, was necessarily involved. The author of *Caledonia* observes, "that doubt may be entertained, as to the

hastily assembled at this point from various quarters, the river preventing their flight, they perished almost to a man. From this circumstance, I think, it has arisen, that our historians have represented seven battles to have been fought in one day. By this disaster, the strength of the Picts was wholly broken,

particular circumstances which are supposed to have attended this revolution, but, as to whether Kenneth overturned the Pictish government, and united the two people, as the families of the kings were already united, there can be no reasonable question. The ancient chronicles, the constant tradition, and a thousand facts, all uniformly speak of these events as certain." *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 334. The very *Chronicon Pictorum*, upon the authenticity of which, the whole theories of Innes and Pinkerton rest, bears witness to the fact, the words are, "*Pictavia autem a Pictis est nominatu, quos ut diximus Kinadius delevit*," and the arguments which prove this last sentence, "a gross fable void of all foundation," prove too much for his cause; they prove also, that it is not being too sceptical to refuse implicit faith to the rest of the document. The verses of Wynton express the received belief of his day.

Quhen Alpyne this kyng wes dede,
He left a sowne wes cal'd Kyned,
Dowchty man he wes and stowt,
All the Peychtis he put out.
Gret bataylis than dyd he,
To pwt in freedom his cuntre !

This important revolution, which is satisfactorily established, if we do not refuse to believe every Scottish document and authority, merely because they are Scottish, attests, that the ancient Scots were in fact, as their ancient historians represent them, a powerful people, and not as Mr. Pinkerton alleges, mere highlanders of Argyle; because, in the last case, although the chief of Dalriada *might* have succeeded to the throne by inheritance, and although many of his clergy, learned men, and nobles, might have accompanied him to court, it is not likely that the country and kingdom would have changed their names. When James VI. of Scotland ascended the English throne, the country was not called Scotland, nor the kingdom, the kingdom of the Scots. The most embarrassing point in this question, is undoubtedly the language which these two people spoke, was it the same, or were there two different languages. Buchanan thinks they both spoke the same, vide Book II. and I have not met with any arguments which overturn his reasoning; but it must be remembered that his reasoning applies to a period in which a language was spoken by the Picts, of which "*Peanvahal*" is the only authentic vocable remaining. Still, however, the query remains unanswered, how was the present language, which is of Gothic, and not of Celtic origin, introduced into the Lowlands? To this it has been replied, the incessant contests between the Scots and Picts, must almost have depopulated the country; and when

and Kenneth, that it might not be again restored, visited Lothian, and the adjacent country beyond Forth, with similar devastation. The garrisons, terrified by the example, surrendered, and the few who remained, fled in the utmost wretchedness to England.

the inhabitants were reduced by their internal struggles, one swarm of northern invaders, succeeded another, whether conquerors, or conquered, whence the lowlands of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and Moray, received their dialect. The kingdom of Northumberland, on the other side, extended at one period, to the Frith of Forth, and for nearly two centuries, the greater part of the Merse, Roxburghshire, and part of Lothian, belonged to that kingdom, during which, a language radically Gothic, was introduced. That at the Norman conquest, the royal family of England, took refuge in Scotland, and on the marriage of Margaret, to king Malcolm, a number of clergymen and nobles, refugees, were received at court, and the language of the queen became fashionable, in a country where a barbarous dialect, somewhat similar, was already spoken. Afterward, a number of Normans, on the usurpation of William II. left England, and found shelter in Scotland. Besides, in the subversion of the Pictish kingdom, a number of piratical Danes, settled in various parts of the country, by means of all which, the Lowlanders adopted a mixed language, derived from the same sources as the English, and thence arose a different dialect of the same tongue, which a little Etymological ingenuity may trace to any of the modern European languages, while the mountaineers of our country, safe in the fastnesses of their hills, were preserved from any invasion, either of their territories or language. It is also worthy of notice, that a contrary hypothesis involves a direct inversion of the usual procedure of the population of other countries. It supposes the inhabitants of the hills to be the strangers, and those of the vallies, to be the earlier possessors, a process, which, if it have taken place in Scotland, forms another, to the many anomalies in our history.

THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK VI. *

I. **As** Fergus I. and Fergus II. have been styled with the greatest propriety, two original founders of the Scottish monarchy, Kenneth, the son of Alpin, may without injustice be added as a third to that number. The first Fergus, from petty principalities, raised the Scots to an enviable rank among their neighbours; the second brought them back, when

* This book, which contains the history of Scotland, from the conquest of the Picts to Malcolm, comprehends the greater part of the ninth century, the darkest period in the history of modern Europe, and of course, it partakes of the general obscurity. There are scarcely two writers who unite as to facts and dates in this century, and amid the discordant Scottish and Irish records which still remain, it is difficult to find in some instances, even a semblance of agreement. We must not, therefore, instantly condemn as fabulous, what we cannot establish by collateral proof. The English chronicles are scarcely less discordant than our own; the Saxon chronicles, as Camden ingenuously owns, never acknowledge that the English were ever defeated, and, in whatever regards Scotland, their eager desire to establish the feudal superiority of England, renders it necessary to read even their best writers, with a jealous eye. It must, however, be granted, that the *fulness* of detail, respecting some of the reigns of the Scottish monarchs, is rather suspicious, but when denuded, and made bare as the Pictish chronicle, there is less opposition between Buchanan's narrative, and the statements of the ancient chronicles than might have been expected, from the violent outcry which has been raised against him. He has perhaps, in his reflections, and in his political arguments, expounded too much, from a desire to inculcate those maxims of government, which he believed founded on truth and reason, and wished to enforce on the minds of his readers, as beneficial to his country. But it does not appear that he has followed any of his predecessors beyond the bounds of credibility, except perhaps, in the case of Gregory the great, and here we cannot say what records he may have seen, which we have not, and which perchance, gave greater plausibility to the tale than it has now.

wanderers, dispersed among distant nations, and, in the opinion of their enemies, nearly extinct, recalled them as it were to life, and in a few years, restored them to their pristine splendour. But Kenneth, having received the kingdom in almost hopeless circumstances, when it was deemed impossible to collect and defend the miserable wreck, displayed such undaunted courage in a series of severe, and sanguinary, but successful engagements, that he broke the power of the enemy, though aided by foreign auxiliaries, and exulting in their recent victories, and drove them discomfited, totally out of Britain, depriving them at the same time, of the name of a kingdom, which to this day, they have never been able to resume. These deeds, although great, were not the greatest of his works; for the kingdom, now enlarged to double the size, he so regulated by new laws, and invigorated by reviving the ancient discipline, that neither the licentiousness which springs from war, nor the insolence that victory produces, nor any vestige of the crimes which are wont to accompany luxury and ease, appeared during his life; and his laws, which were called by posterity, the Macalpin Code, * not less than his arms, gave stability to the Scottish commonwealth for many ages afterwards. But omitting all observations, I shall proceed with the narration of his exploits.

II. Upon the expulsion of the Picts, Kenneth divided their lands among his soldiers, according to every man's merit, and they ambitiously imposed new names on many of the places and countries. Horestia was divided between two brothers, Æneas, and Mearn, one part of which, in the ancient Scottish tongue, is still called Æneas, in the English language, Angus, the other, Mearn. It appears the region stretching from the Tay to the Forth, was anciently called Ross, a peninsula, marks of which name yet remain in that of the town of Culross, which signifies the tail of Ross, and in Kinross, which signifies the head. The same country is now called Fife, from an illustrious

* Macalpin Laws. The ancient chronicles, [Innes' App.] speak of the laws of Kenneth; yet although the Macalpin Code, attributed to this king be a forgery, it is not improbable, but that he may have promulgated ordinances which afterward became the basis of succeeding legislation, and that the misapplication of the term may be the only mistake.

man named Ife, whose surname is said to have been Duff. Barodunum, a town in Lothian, or, according to another dialect, Dunbar, is believed to have received its name from a powerful man of the name of Bar. Lothian, latterly had its name from Lothus, king of the Picts. Cunninghame is a word wholly Danish, imposed, I think, after the time of Kenneth, by the Danes, who, having driven the Scots beyond the wall of Severus, held that country for several years, for the word Cunninghame, signifies, in the Danish tongue, a royal domain or palace. It is probable that March was so called, by the Danes, from being long the boundary of the two kingdoms. Edinburgh, a name in itself not very obscure, has been almost completely darkened, either through the ignorance or perverse ingenuity of some, who call that fortress now the *vallum dolorosum*, the doleful rampart, and now the *castrum puellarum*, * the maidens' castle, names borrowed from French romances, within these last three hundred years. It is certain the ancient Scots called that castle, Dunedin, and the more modern, Edinburgh, each following the custom of the country, in affixing the names, which might more properly, I think, by a middle appellation between both, be called Edina. But enough of the ancient and new names of those countries of which I have said so much before.

III. To return to Kenneth: having extended, as we have mentioned, his kingdom by arms, and settled it by laws, he endeavoured to confirm the royal authority, even by superstitious trifles. The marble block, which Simon Breccus is said to have imported from Spain into Ireland, and Fergus, the son of Ferchard, carried thence to Argyle, in Scottish Albium, he caused to be removed from Argyle to Scoon, on the river Tay, and set it there enclosed in a chair of wood.

* *Castrum Puellarum*. This name, Mr. Pinkerton alleges, is a mere translation of the name of Dumfries, Dun-Fres, *Dun Castellum*, *Fru*, *Fre*, *Virgo Nobilis*, Icelandic—if so, why apply it to Edinburgh?—Lord Hailes remarks that Turgot, quoted by Fordun, says, that queen Margaret, the wife of Malcolm III., died at the *Castrum Puellarum*; and the description he gives of it, corresponds exactly with that of the castle of Edinburgh, Remarks, p. 34. Some antiquaries fancifully imagine that the Scots termed it the maidens' castle, because the Pictish Princesses were kept there

In that seat the kings of Scotland used to receive the title and the insignia of royalty, until the time of Edward I. of England. The Episcopal See, which the Picts had established at Abernethy, he transferred to the Royal Fane, which posterity have rather chosen to call St. Andrews. But the ancient Scottish bishops, elected from monasteries, where the objects of contention then were not honour and rank, but holiness and learning, exercised their functions everywhere as opportunity offered, without envy and without strife, for there were, as yet, no rich benefices attached to the office. In this manner, Kenneth reigned twenty years—in the fifth year of his reign, he destroyed the Picts, according to the Book of Paisley; the other sixteen, after the subversion of the Pictish empire, he spent most tranquilly in the exercise of justice at home, having secured peace abroad by the success of his arms, and having extended the boundaries of his kingdom, from the Orkney Islands to the wall of Hadrian, he died, 854.*

LXX. DONALD V.

iv. Donald, the brother of Kenneth, who was next chosen king, overturned, by his example, the whole public discipline established by his brother. During the lifetime of Alpin, he made great pretensions to temperance, and had gained the affections of the more respectable part of the community, but, by his death, being freed from all fear and restraint, he abandoned himself wholly to his pleasures; and, as if secure from every hostile attack, neglecting all military business, gathered around him only hunters, hawkers, and parasites, on whom he wasted the public revenue. The youth, prone to unlicensed pleasures, extolled the king to heaven, as the most elegant and liberal of monarchs, ridiculing the frugality of former times, as barbarous and contracted. The aged, when

* Kenneth. By the Chron. Pict. it appears that Kenneth invaded the English territories six times, and burned Dunbar and Melross, *then* in their possession. He died, according to the same authority, at his palace, Fort-eviot, near the river Earn, south of Perth; Fordun says, on Tuesday, 13th February, 870; the Chron. Pict. Tuesday, 13th February, 860. He was buried in Iona, the burial place of the Scottish kings, down to Edgar, 1098; after which time, Dunfermline was the place of royal sepulture.

they perceived the rapid ruin with which their country was threatened, waited upon the sovereign, and remonstrated with him on the duties of his situation, his present misconduct, and the impending danger. He, notwithstanding, persisted in his disgraceful inactivity, and the remains of the Picts, roused as by a signal from the deepest despair, applied to Osbreth and Ella, those kings among the English most eminent for authority and power, for that country was then divided into several kingdoms, complaining of their fortune, asking assistance, and promising, that after victory, which the sloth of Donald promised to make easy, they would remain for ever with all their posterity under the dominion of the English. The English, easily persuaded, having settled their domestic affairs, raised an army and invaded March; whence, by special ambassadors, they demanded of Donald, that those lands which the Scots had seized from the Picts should be restored, and unless this were done, they threatened to enforce the claims of their distressed allies. Donald, according to the advice of his nobles, whom he had unwillingly summoned in this imminent danger, levied an army with which he encountered the enemy at Jed, a river in Teviotdale, and being victorious, Osbreth fled to the next mountains. Following the course of the Tweed, Donald marched towards the sea-coast, and entering Berwick, which the English had taken, but, terrified at the disastrous issue of the late battle, deserted, he captured all the vessels lying in the mouth of the river, together with all the enemies' magazines. Here, having found the means of renewing his interrupted pleasures, he eagerly gave himself up to the enjoyment of voluptuous indulgence.

v. The English, who in the former battle had been rather dispersed than destroyed, when, by means of their spies, they learned the negligence and inactivity of the Scots, having obtained assistance from the neighbouring countries, attacked them during the night, while oppressed with sleep and wine, and, besides a great slaughter of the common soldiers, took the king prisoner before he was awake. After which, in order to improve the victory, and spread their ravages more widely, they led their army in two divisions into the hostile territory. One party, on their arrival at the Forth, collected a number

of vessels, and prepared to pass over to Fife, but having lost a considerable number of men by shipwreck, the rest, who were driven back by the fury of the tempest to the shore whence they had loosened, marched to Stirling, where, joining the other part of the army, they passed the Forth by a bridge. At this place the Scots, having collected from among the fugitives the semblance rather than the strength of an army, sent ambassadors to treat of peace, which the English, on account of the unfortunate battle at the Jed, and the diminution of their forces by the shipwreck, did not think proper to refuse. They proposed the following hard conditions, which, however, the present circumstances made appear tolerable:—That the Scots should cede all the country lying within the rampart of Severus; that their boundaries should be the Forth, below Stirling, the Clyde, below Dunbarton, and the wall of Severus, between the two rivers.

VI. The Scots acceded to these hard terms with the greatest cheerfulness, because, most unexpectedly, no mention had been made in them respecting the restoration of the Picts. The English and Britons then divided between them the ceded territory, the river Clyde separating them. Some suppose the silver money which is still commonly called Sterling was first at that time coined there. The lands being thus divided, the Picts, who had believed they would recover their own territory, seeing themselves deceived, and their hopes frustrated, passed over to the Cimbri and Scandinavians, who inhabited the regions now called Denmark and Norway. The few who remained among the English were put to death, under the pretext that they would excite revolutions by calling in foreign assistance. Upon the conclusion of this peace, Donald being restored to his people, was received honourably, both from respect to his ancestors, and in the hopes of his repentance; but when he persevered in his pristine baseness, the nobles, afraid lest one so grovelling and inert might lose what still remained of the kingdom, threw him into prison, where, either from grief at being deprived of his indulgencies, or afraid of being made a public spectacle, he put himself to death in the sixth year of his reign. Others relate, that this Donald, having performed many illustrious exploits, both at

home and abroad, died a natural death, at Scoon, in the year 858. *

LXXI. CONSTANTINE II.

VII. After Donald, Constantine, the son of Kenneth, was crowned at Scoon, a man of a great mind and exemplary virtue. As soon as he ascended the throne, he was desirous to wipe away the ignominy the nation had incurred under Donald, and to restore the kingdom to the same bounds which had been left by his father; but in this he was opposed by his nobles, who represented, that a great part of the youth were destroyed under Donald, and the rest so depraved, that it would be improper to intrust them with arms. Wherefore, the king first turned his attention to the correction of the public discipline, and, by severe laws, brought back to their ancient frugality the order of the priests, who, corrupted by their fat livings, had left off preaching the gospel, and devoted themselves to hunting, hawking, and courtly pomp. He ordered the young soldiers, who had become effeminate by delicate living, to lie upon the ground, and only to take one meal a day; drunkenness he punished by death, and he prohibited all games, except such as strengthened the body and mind for military service. Having by these laws accomplished the reformation of the youth, a certain Islander, named Ewen, whom he had appointed governor of Lochaber, a turbulent and ambitious man, suddenly took arms. Understanding how unwillingly the young men bore the severity of the new laws, he first sounded a few, then a considerable number, complaining of the present method of government, and, when he found that his speeches were favourably received, he easily persuaded them to enter into a conspiracy for cutting off Constantine. But while they were more eager than cautious in procuring strength to their faction, being betrayed by some of their own accomplices, they were overpowered before they were even

* Donald V. Pinkerton and Chalmers adopt this last account. The author of *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 337, says, "Fiction directed the pen of Buchanan," *why*, he does not mention; but Buchanan has given *both statements*, and placed what he thought the most probable first.

aware that any troops had been raised against them, and, Ewen, the chief of the conspiracy, was taken and hanged.

VIII. About this time, the Danes, then the most powerful of all the Germans, solicited by the Picts, and, likewise, by Buernus, or as some writers call him, Verna, whose wife Osbreth had forced, to undertake an expedition against the Scots, were easily induced, as their country was overstocked with young men, to despatch a powerful fleet to Britain. They first landed in Fife, where, from hatred to the Christian name, they massacred without distinction all who opposed them, and dividing their army, they wasted the country in two different directions. Constantine immediately marched against the invaders, and soon came up with that band which Hubba, the brother of the Danish king, commanded. These being prevented by the sudden rising of the river Leven from joining the other body of their countrymen, were easily overcome, and all slain except a few skilful swimmers who passed the river, and joined Humber, the other leader. Whenever the river became fordable, Constantine followed, carrying his men rather as it were to plunder than to fight, and pursued the enemy, who retreated to a camp they had hastily fortified not far from the town of Crail. For the Danes, rendered extremely circumspect by the adverse issue of the late battle, had thrown up a kind of rampart upon the small bending rocks near the shore, by heaping together the large stones with which the beach everywhere abounded. In this station, Constantine attacked them, and the disadvantage of the ground assisting the desperation of the enemy, he paid the penalty of his rashness, with a vast effusion of the blood of his men; a great part of his army being there destroyed, he was himself taken prisoner, dragged to a small cave at no great distance, and there slain. * Some monuments of this battle still re-

* Constantine II. In the Annals of Ulster, Constantine is said to have died a year after his last defeat by the Picts; Pinkerton of course prefers this as he does any authority to the Scottish. Buchanan as naturally prefers Fordun to foreign or more modern authorities. Chalmers agrees with Buchanan, and quotes Innes' App. p. 108, Chron. Eligiacum, in Chron. Melros, and adds, that during this invasion upon the coast of Fife, several of the Scottish ecclesiastics taking refuge in the Isle of May, were slain by the Pagan Danes,

main. The cave is still shown, and the outline of the camp, not divided into regular spaces, but accommodated in its delineation to the bending of the rocks. Some attribute the blame of this disaster to the Picts who had been received into the confidence of Constantine, and were associated with his own soldiers in the ranks of his army; with them the flight commenced, and they carried a great part of the army along with them. The Danes, having collected the spoil, returned to their ships. Next day, the body of the king being found, it was carried to the island of Iona, and interred in the sepulchre of his fathers, in the year 847. Constantine reigned sixteen years.

LXXII. ETHUS.

ix. Ethus, from his swiftness, surnamed Lightfoot, succeeded his brother Constantine; he was elected king merely on account of having collected the remains of the army which the Danes had scattered. Among the prodigies of his reign, are enumerated the sea fishes, rarely seen, and at long intervals, always in shoals, but never without presaging great misery. They are vulgarly called, sometimes, *monachi marini*, *sea monks*; and sometimes, *basinetti*, hooded or helmeted. Ethus, forgetful of his brother and of his ancestors, when he had given himself up to every kind of debauchery, and had dragged along with him the youth, ever prone to sensual indulgence, was seized by the nobles, and all the crimes of his life having been detailed to the people in a long speech, he was forced to resign the kingdom in the second year of his reign. He died of grief, in confinement, the third day after. His sloth chiefly disgusted the military men, because, while the Danes were engaged in a bloody war against the English, he neither thought of regaining the lost provinces, nor would he allow himself to be reminded of the subject. Some assert that he was not forced to resign the government, but, that

Langebek's Script. vol. p. 57. Caledonia, vol. i. p. 380. The tradition of a great battle with the Danes having been fought near Crail, is still current on the coast of Fife, and the site of Constantine's death is still pointed out, in a small cave, near a rampart called the Danes' dyke, Statist. Acct. vol. ix. p. 454.

through the ambition of Gregory, he was wounded in a certain battle, and died two months after, A. D. 875. *

LXXIII. GREGORY.

x. Gregory, the son of Dongalus, was raised to the throne, in the room of Ethus; a man of a truly royal soul, and deficient in no virtue which could adorn a prince. Having first reconciled himself to all those who had been competitors with him for the kingdom, he next endeavoured to allay the discords which existed among the nobles themselves. The severity of his government was so tempered by the suavity of his manner, that he ruled his people more by kindness than by fear. He either revived the ancient laws, respecting the immunity of the ministers of the church—who were kept almost in a state of slavery under the Picts—or enacted new ones. His first expedition was against the Picts who had been left in Fife by the Danes, while they, themselves, carried on the war against the English, and he not only drove them thence, but, likewise, from Lothian and March. When he came to Berwick, the Danes fearing, if any adverse circumstance should occur, that the English would fall upon their rear, dared not meet Gregory in the open field, but sent part of their forces beyond the river into Northumberland, with orders to join a new body of their countrymen recently arrived, while the remainder marched into Berwick to act as a garrison. The English, who unwillingly submitted to the Danes as men of a different religion, received the Scots in the night into the city, when the Danes were all cut off to a man.

xi. Thence Gregory marched into Northumberland, where he successfully engaged Hardnute [Harduntus] and made such a slaughter of the Danes, that their power, lately so formidable in Britain, partly by Gregory, the king of Scotland, and partly by the English Alfred, was nearly destroyed. Gregory, having thus recovered Northumberland, dismissed,

* This king is styled Aodh, or Hugh, by Chalmers, and is said to have been effeminate. By the Gaelic Duan, his reign was two years [of] hard complexioned times. He is styled Ed. by Pinkerton. Chalmers says, he was wounded in combat with Gregory, and died in consequence; Pinkerton, that he was slain by his own subjects.

with great honour, the English who wished to depart, and liberally distributed lands among those desirous of remaining, who formed the majority, being induced to continue, partly by love to their native soil, partly by the beneficence of the king, and fear of the enemy. For the war had been carried on against the Danes during so many years, with such doubtful and sanguinary conflicts, that numbers of the English chose rather to obey the Scots, although formerly their enemies, yet being Christians, than submit to the power of savage invaders, or expect uncertain aid from their own countrymen, especially as the whole island was in such a disturbed state, that the English were forced to hesitate to which part they should first send assistance. Gregory having so effectually humbled the Danes, that he hoped they would not soon disturb him, turned his arms against the Britons, who still kept possession of a part of the Scottish territory. Having concluded a peace with them likewise, upon receiving back the contested lands, and being promised assistance against the Danes, if they should again invade the country, he dismissed his army; but the Britons, in their retreat having repented of the peace they had entered into, returned hastily to Scotland, and were driving away an immense booty, when Gregory attacked, and routed them at Lochmaben, in a great battle, Constantine their king being slain.

XII. When the Britons had reaped the fruit of their crooked policy, Herbert, the brother of Constantine, being made king, they began to reflect upon their dangerous situation, having the Scots and the Danes as enemies, and the English very uncertain friends; they, therefore, determined upon a pacification with the Scots. Having for this purpose despatched ambassadors, the Scots refused to listen to them, unless Cumberland and Westmoreland were restored, which conditions being acceded to, peace was concluded. Almost about the same time, ambassadors were sent from Alfred, king of England, partly to congratulate the Scots upon their victory over the Danes, as a subject of common joy to all Christians, and partly, to enter into a new confederacy against the enemies of their religion. A treaty was accordingly concluded between them, stipulating, that they should make common

cause against the common foe, and, that wherever that foe should land, both people should oppose him with as many forces as they could possibly collect; and that the Scots should continue to possess without interruption, for ever, the lands which they had taken from the Danes. Tranquillity being thus procured among his neighbours, by force of arms, or by treaties, Gregory on his return, was informed that the Irish had made an irruption into Galloway. The alleged cause of this war was, that the inhabitants of that district, had seized, in a hostile manner, some large vessels belonging to Dublin, the capital of Ireland, which had been driven on their coast. The Irish, upon hearing of the approach of Gregory, hastily retreated with their plunder to their ships; and Gregory, having collected a fleet and a strong army, passed over to Ireland with as much expedition as he possibly could.

XIII. At that time, Duncan, or Donat, or rather Dunach, their king, being quite a boy, Brien and Cornelius, the most powerful chiefs next in power, divided the whole country into two factions, these, upon the approach of the foreign enemy, concluded a truce between themselves, and fortified two camps on the banks of the river Bann, in a situation which seemed sufficiently secure, with the intention of wearing out Gregory by delay, and forcing him by the want of provisions, to depart from a strange and wasted land. Gregory, however, suspecting the design, sent secretly in the night, a part of his army to occupy the top of a high hill, which overlooked Brien, and next day when they engaged, he destroyed a number of the enemy in their camp, by the huge stones which were rolled down from the summit of the mountain, and the rest being panic struck, fled in confusion, in every direction. Cornelius, on hearing of the event of this battle, withdrew his men entire to a safer station. Brien perished in his camp, but the residue of his force was spared by Gregory, who then passing through the country, by the strict discipline he maintained in his army, induced many of the enemy rather to submit to his clemency than to oppose him. The fortified towns were well garrisoned, notwithstanding which, Gregory reduced Dundalk and Drogheda, two places strong both by nature and art, and then proceeded towards Dublin; when learning that

Cornelius, now commander-in-chief of Ireland, was coming against him with a large army, he turned aside, and having overcome him in a pitched battle, pursued the fugitives as far as that capital, which he besieged, and, there not being a sufficient supply of provisions for the numbers who had fled thither, the place was in a short time surrendered to him, by Cormac, the bishop of the city. Gregory, having entered it in a friendly manner, visited his relation, Duncan the king, to whom he protested, that no desire for his kingdom, or his power, but only a wish to avenge the injuries he had received, had brought him hither. He committed the care of the prince's education to such noblemen as he believed would prove most faithful to him—himself assuming the name of tutor till the young king came of age—and, having placed garrisons in all the citadels, he exacted an oath from the chiefs, that they would admit neither Englishman, Briton, nor Dane, into the island without his permission. He then appointed officers in convenient places, who should dispense justice according to the laws of the country, and receiving sixty hostages for the due performance of the conditions, he returned home in triumph. The fame of his justice in these proceedings, rendered the subsequent peace more durable than any terror of his arms could have done. Having thus settled both his foreign and domestic relations, he died in the eighteenth year of his reign, no less illustrious for his equity and moderation, than for his bravery, whence he justly received from his countrymen, the surname of Great, 892.*

* Gregory the Great. I cannot find in any foreign, cotemporary, or unbiassed historian, any circumstance that corroborates the statements of ours, yet I dare not say that their narration is therefore false. The reader may give what credence he chooses to the note that I append.—The exploits of this monarch owe their origin to the gratitude of the monks of St. Andrews, to whom he appears to have been very liberal, and they in return, in their register, made him conqueror of England and Ireland. Buchanan has adopted their stories, and unfortunately, has not told us what other authorities he had for the splendid account he gives us of this reign, as neither English nor Irish historians corroborate the magnificent statements. The only circumstance which seems certain about him, is, that in the ninth year of his reign, an eclipse of the sun happened on the day of St. Cyriacus, the 8th of August, 891. The Ch. Pict. says he was driven, along with Echod, or Achy, or Eocha, the

LXXIV. DONALD VI.

XIV. The next king was Donald, the sixth of that name, the second son of Constantine, who had been recommended to the nobles, by Gregory before his decease, nor did he deceive the judgment of that wise king. He so cultivated peace, that he was always prepared for war; and when, for a long while, no one attacked him, he paid particular attention, lest the young soldiers, corrupted by too much tranquillity, should grow licentious, and, as had often happened before, should rush into crime. A new band of Danes having appeared off the coast of Northumberland, lay there at anchor several days, without committing any depredation. Donald, on the first news of their arrival, raised an army, marched thither, and anxiously watching all their movements, preserved the country. Afterward, hearing that they had landed in England, he sent assistance to king Alfred, who having obtained a victory over them in a bloody battle, ceded to them a part of his country, only on condition they should become Christians. Peace being thus settled, and the army dismissed, Donald, on his return, found himself embroiled in a new disturbance at home. A deadly feud had broken out between the men of Ross, and those of Moray, which from small beginnings, had suddenly spread to such an extent, that more people were killed in tumultuary conflicts, than if they had met in regular engagement. Thither Donald immediately marched, and, having destroyed the leaders of the factions, restored peace. Fordun, in his *Scotochronicon*, affirms, that he died, in the expedition, at Forres, and not without strong suspicions of poison. Boethius, on the other hand, asserts, that he returned to Northumberland, to see what had become of the peace with the Danes, of whom he was

son of a king of the Strathclyde Britons, whom he had associated with himself in the government, from the throne, and in the Caledonia it is added, owing to some cause which is not intimated in any of the chronicles, though it is so unusual, Grig, for they curtail his name as well as his fame, was allowed to live four years after his dethronement. Chron. No. III. Innes' App. Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 180. Caledonia, vol. i. p. 363.

always suspicious, and died there, in the eleventh year of his reign, equally dear to all ranks, A. D. 903.

LXXV. CONSTANTINE III.

xv. Constantine III. the son of Ethus, succeeded Donald, a prince, not so much of a bad, as of an unstable disposition. The Danes, who by no promises could induce Gregory and Donald, the two last Scottish kings, to turn their arms against the English, who professed Christianity, easily corrupted Constantine by their presents, and the vain hope of enlarging his territory, to make a league with them, which had scarcely lasted two years, when the Danes left the Scots, and allied themselves with the English. This had not continued four years, when Edward, suddenly collecting an army, spoiled the Danish possessions far and wide, and reduced them to such desperation, that they returned to the Scots they had lately deserted, and solemnly swore they would enter into a friendly alliance with them, which should last for ever. This second league is said to have been ratified with great formality, in the tenth year of Constantine's reign. In the same year, he gave Cumberland to Malcolm, son of the late king, which honour was considered as a presage and pledge, that he would succeed to the kingdom, a custom, likewise, observed by some succeeding kings, evidently in violation of the right of the assemblies of the people, and which almost took away the power of free suffrages, as much as the appointment of the consuls by the Cæsars. A war afterwards arising between Edward, the son of Alfred, and the Danes, Constantine sent assistance to the Danes, under the command of Malcolm. The two armies, after they effected a junction, trusting to their numbers, ravaged the neighbouring English counties extensively, spreading, wherever they went, the greatest devastation, with the design of provoking the English, who were far inferior in number, to engage; and such was their arrogance, that they never imagined the enemy would dare to look them in the face, nor did they think so much of victory, as of dividing the spoil. But, as prosperity sometimes infatuates the prudent, so adversity, and the approach of danger, often instructs the weak. What the English wanted in strength, they supplied

by stratagem. Their main body, strongly supported by reserves, was ordered at first to appear as if giving way, and after, when the ranks of the enemy were broken, to return in a body upon their pursuers, and resume the battle.

xvi. Athelstane, the natural son of Edward—it is said by our writers, and likewise Grafton—commanded all the English forces. This prince, according to these authors, had rendered himself infamous as a parricide, having murdered his father, and his two brothers, Ethred and Edwin, who by right ought to have succeeded their father. Common report, also, confirms the suspicion of his father having suffered a violent death, as he is generally styled Edward the martyr. Being hated on account of his crimes, in order to acquire the favour of the people by some splendid action, he resolved to wash his hands from the blood of his relations, in that of his enemies. Wherefore, when the battle had commenced with considerable keenness, he first, giving way gradually, and afterward more rapidly, exhibited the appearance of a real flight; when, the Danes and Scots, thinking themselves victorious, ceased from pursuing, lest the laziest should reap the whole spoil, and returned to pillage the camp. On this, a signal being given by Athelstane, the dispersed English rallied round their standards, and returning upon their enemies, now heavy laden with plunder, killed them like sheep. In this battle the greater part of the Scottish nobility perished, choosing rather to die, than to desert their companions. Malcolm, carried off the field severely wounded, sent a messenger with the melancholy tidings of the loss of his army, to king Constantine. Nor were the Danes more fortunate. While his enemies remained thunderstruck at such a disaster, Athelstane took Cumberland and Westmoreland from the Scots, and Northumberland from the Danes.

xvii. Constantine, on receipt of the intelligence from Malcolm, having assembled his nobles at Abernethy, when he perceived that he had not the means left, either for carrying on the war, or procuring an honourable peace, voluntarily resigned the royalty, and retired among the Culdees—*Cultores Dei*, the worshippers of God, for so the religious were called in that age—as to a safe haven, and passed the re-

maining five years of his life in their society in St. Andrews. He died in the fortieth year, from the beginning of his reign, and in the year of our Lord, 943. The English, who are here profuse in their own praise, tell us, that Athelstane was the sole king over all Britain, that the others who assumed the royal title in Albium, reigned by his permission, were his vassals, and did homage to him, as their supreme lord; and they bring as supporters of their opinion, many obscure English authors, to whom, that we may the more readily attach credit, they add Marianus Scotus, a celebrated writer. Respecting this, I beg to inform the reader, there is not the smallest mention made, in that copy of Marianus which is edited in Germany. But if they have any other than that which is generally used, either interpolated, or forged by themselves, let them produce it. Besides, being the greater part of them unlettered men, they do not in some places understand their own writers, nor attend to the circumstance, that in the writings of Bede, William of Malmesbury, and Geoffry of Monmouth, that part of the island is most frequently called Britain over which the Britons reigned, that is, the part lying within the rampart of Adrian, or, when the limits were further extended, that which was bounded by the wall of Severus. But the Scots and Picts were often accounted to be beyond Britain, and reckoned among the transmarine people. They, however, when they read, that the English sometimes reigned over all Britain, understand it as if, when all Britain is mentioned, all Albium or Albion were included, when these writers for the most part, circumscribe Britain, as I have said, within much narrower limits. But I have in another place, spoken more largely upon this subject, let us return to the affairs of Scotland.

LXXVI. MALCOLM I.

xviii. Constantine having embraced a tranquil retirement among the monks, Malcolm, the son of Donald, was declared king. After Athelstane's death, on the accession of his brother Edmund, Cumberland and Westmoreland revolted from the English, and returned to their wonted allegiance; and the Danes, who remained in Northumberland, invited Avalas, a

Dane of royal extraction, then an exile in Ireland, to be their king. Edmund, perceiving what a storm of war hung over him, confirmed the possession of Cumberland and Westmoreland to Malcolm, on condition, that his successors in the kingdom of Scotland, should do homage to the king of England, as his superior lord, for these counties. He then easily reduced the Danes to subjection, already afflicted by various calamities; nor did he long survive his victory. On his death, the English created his brother, Edred, king, in his room; against whom, the Danes, who remained in Northumberland, and who never faithfully observed any peace, rebelled, and, while he was engaged in a different part of the kingdom, took from him several fortified places, especially York. The English, however, aided by ten thousand subsidiary Scots, defeated them with immense slaughter; after which victory, Malcolm, returning home, devoted himself entirely to the arts of peace. In order to heal the wounds inflicted by war, especially licentiousness and profusion, he visited all the Scottish courts of judicature every alternate year, and saw that justice was administered in equity. At last, in the fifteenth year of his reign, while he was punishing severely some robberies, and was rigidly restraining the licentiousness of the youth in Moray, he was slain in the night by a conspiracy. The perpetrators of this crime were diligently sought out by the nobles, and on being apprehended, suffered in various ways, every one according to the share he had had in the commission of the paricide.*

LXXVII. INDULFUS.

xix. Indulfus reigned next, who, having settled the internal state of his kingdom, enjoyed the greatest tranquillity for the first seven years. At length, in the eighth year of his reign, the Danes, enraged that he should prefer the friendship of the English to theirs, a perpetual league having been made by the two kings against them, came into the mouth of the river Forth, with a fleet of fifty ships, when the Scots were wholly unprepared, and had almost taken them by surprise. Every

* Malcolm I. The Ulster Annals mark, at 951, a battle upon Scots, Welsh and Saxons, by Gentiles, *i. e.* Danes or Norwegians.

place was filled with terror and amazement at this sudden attack; some carried away their effects to places of greater security in the interior, while others, rushing to the coast, endeavoured to prevent the enemy from landing. Hago and Helric commanded the fleet, who, after they had in vain attempted both Lothian and Fife, sailed to the Frith of Tay; there, likewise, being hindered from making any descent, they roasted along the shores of Angus, Mearns, Marr, and Buchan, but, being repelled at every point, they hoisted their sails, and launched into the ocean, as if they meant to depart. Then, when all were wrapt in security, they returned in a few days, and having found a convenient place on the coast of Banff, at the mouth of the river Cullen, they disembarked their soldiers before the inhabitants had received any alarm, or could be gathered together to oppose them. When Indulfus was informed of their arrival, he immediately set out against them. Anticipating by his rapid march any intelligence of his movements, he instantly attacked the dispersed plunderers, whom he drove back upon the main army, but with little loss, as the camp of the Danes was at no great distance. When the armies came in sight of each other, they drew up in order of battle, without delay, and joined in the conflict with equal spirit and force. While the battle yet raged with the greatest animosity, the Danes were suddenly panic struck by the appearance of Græme and Dunbar, with the Lothian troops, in their rear, and some ran to the ships, and others fled at random, but the greater part in a close circular body retired to a woody vale, where they took their station, prepared either to fight with success, or to die bravely. Indulfus, as if the enemy had been wholly routed, when riding about, attended only by a few followers, fell in with this body, and was there slain, in the beginning of the tenth year of his reign. Some relate that he was killed by an arrow, shot from a vessel, whilst he was pressing hard upon those who were retreating to the ships, and had thrown aside his armour, that he might be more active in the pursuit. *

* Indulfus. The Chron. No. 5. Innes, relates that Indulfus was slain by the Norwegians, in Inverculen: "Ad fluminis ostia Collin;" and on the moor, at no great distance westward from Cullen, at the influx of the river Cullen

LXXVIII. DUFF.

xx. On the death of Indulfus, Duff, the son of Malcolm, was made king. He, as soon as he was crowned, created Cullen, the son of king Indulfus, prince of Cumberland, and sent him to the Æbudæ Islands, which were in a disturbed state, that he might clear them of robbers; for the young Æbudean nobility, associating together in great numbers, levied tribute from the common people, and, besides living at free quarters, exacted large sums of money from particular families; yet was not Cullen more severe upon them than upon the governors of the islands, who ought to have repressed this description of freebooters, assuring them that those through whose negligence such disorders occurred in future, should be compelled to make good the damage sustained by the common people, and, also, pay a fine to the king. This threatening struck such terror into these idle vagabonds, that many of them departed into Ireland, and earned a livelihood by manual labour. These proceedings, so grateful to the common people, were, on the other hand, as disagreeable to the noble relatives of the exiles, and the dissipated young men who approved of that idle kind of life. These, in all their meetings and private assemblies, first secretly, and then emboldened by the numbers of those who approved their harangues, more openly, reviled the king. They accused him of treating his nobility with contempt, being seduced by the advice of worthless priests; of forcing men of high birth to perform servile offices, and of raising the vulgar to the highest honours; in fine, of destroying all distinctions, and confounding the noblest with the meanest of the people. And they asserted, that if such pro-

into the Moray Frith, there are some large, and many small, tumuli, which still point out the scene of this battle. Stat. Acct. vol. xii. p. 154; ib. vol. xiii. p. 432.

In the Chron. Pict. a noted passage occurs: "In hujus tempore oppidum Eden vacuatum est; ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem." In his time, the city of Eden was evacuated, and left to the Scots, in whose possession it is at this day. It is probable Athelstane had left a garrison here, which had kept it till then, from the time he invaded Scotland. Chalmers thinks Lothian never properly formed part of the Scottish kingdom, till the reign of Malcolm II.

ceedings were persevered in, the nobles would either be forced to emigrate, or another king must be created, who would govern the realm according to the laws of their ancestors, by which the kingdom, from such slender beginnings, had arrived at its present greatness.

XXI. In the midst of these disturbances, the king was seized, without any apparent cause, with a new and unaccountable disorder; and, whilst a great variety of remedies were tried ineffectually, a vague rumour spread that he was bewitched. This suspicion probably arose from some uncommon appearances of the distemper, or as the body by degrees wasted, and the strength decayed by constant perspiration, the physicians, having tried every remedy in vain, when they could discover no common symptom of any ordinary disease, ascribed the disorder to some occult cause. The public attention, however, being thus directed to this one point, notice was at last brought, that nocturnal meetings were held at Forres, a town in Moray, where incantations against him were practised; and this, as nothing else presented itself, was received as the true cause of the king's illness. Confidential noblemen were, therefore, sent to Donald, the governor of Forres castle, in whom the king reposed the highest trust in matters of importance, for the purpose of examining the fact. He, by the information of a certain young prostitute, whose mother was infamous for the exercise of these arts, discovered and detected the whole affair; for the girl having rashly tattled about the king's health, and the near approach of his death, on being apprehended, and threatened with the torture, immediately confessed the preparations which were hastening the end of his majesty. Soldiers being then despatched, found her mother, with some other wretched old women, roasting a waxen image of the king before a gentle fire, the tendency of which action was, that as the wax melted gradually, the king perspiring profusely, should waste away by degrees, and when it was wholly consumed, he, likewise, totally worn out, should die. The waxen image being broken, and the witches punished, the king from that moment was relieved from the disease. I have thought proper to relate this story, as I have received it; what judgment is to be formed concerning the witchcraft, I

leave to the judgment of my readers, only noticing, that I have found no mention made of it in our more ancient records.

xxii. During these transactions, all fear of the king being laid aside, as they expected him soon to die, murders and robberies multiplied everywhere. On his recovering strength; however, he pursued the robbers through Moray, Ross, and Caithness, and destroyed many of them in several skirmishes; but he brought the chief of them to Forres for execution, in order to render their punishment more exemplary. Here, when Donald, the governor of the castle, requested the release of some of his relations, and was denied their pardon, he conceived the most unbounded rage against the king; and, as if he had received a signal affront, turned all his thoughts upon revenge, for he valued the services he had rendered Duff so highly, that he imagined he ought to be refused nothing which he chose to ask. Donald's wife, too, when she found, that in the punishment of the guilty, some of her own relations were doomed to suffer, inflamed her incensed husband, not only by her bitter speeches, but, by her persuasion, incited him to murder the king; remarking, that as keeper of the royal castle, he had the life and death of his sovereign in his hands, and possessed of that power, he might not only perpetrate the act, but conceal it when accomplished. Wherefore, after the king, fatigued with business, had fallen into a deep sleep, and his attendants, who had been made drunk by Donald, were also overcome with drowsiness, assassins were secretly admitted, who murdered the monarch, and carried out the body so circumspectly by a back way, that not a single drop of blood betrayed the deed. They buried him about two miles from the monastery of Kinloss, under a little bridge, in an obscure hole, placing above it a green turf, that no vestige might appear of the earth having been broken. This account appears to me more credible than what others have related, that the course of the river being turned, the body was thrown into a ditch, and, then, the waters being let back into their old channel covered the grave. The perpetrators of this crime were sent away to a distance, by Donald, on account of the opinion received from our ancestors, and which is still believed by many, that in the presence of the murderer the blood will flow fresh

from the wounds of the dead body, long after the murder has been committed. Next day, when the report was spread abroad that the king was nowhere to be found, and that the bed was spotted with blood, Donald, as if suddenly struck with the atrocious act, rushed into the bedchamber, and apparently transported with anger, murdered the servants, and then diligently searched everywhere round about to see if any traces of the deceased could be found. The other nobles, astonished at this daring crime, afraid every one for himself, returned to their own homes. Thus this best of kings was cut off in the flower of his age, by nefarious treachery, after he had reigned four years and six months. An assembly, as soon as it could be properly convened, was called together, for the purpose of creating a new king.

LXXIX. CULLEN.

xxiii. Cullen, the son of Indulf, being declared king, in the assembly of the estates, it was then determined to proceed without delay to institute an inquiry into the death of the late king Duff. The appearance of several prodigies, likewise, tended to hasten this determination; one of which seemed particularly to point to the crime.—A hawk was killed by an owl, having had his throat cut by him. Another was referred by the common people to the same occurrence.—For six whole months after the murder, unusual fires shone in the heavens, and the air agitated by the most violent storms, the sky was so covered with clouds, that neither the sun nor the moon were during that time seen in Scotland. Every person being, therefore, anxiously bent upon revenging the death of the late excellent king, Cullen hastened to Moray, hoping, in the place where the deed was perpetrated, to discover some more certain traces of the crime. Donald, at the report of this inquest, conscious of his nefarious cruelty, and having become suspected by the excessive and almost insane activity of his inquiries after the authors of the murder, embarked, with a few attendants, on board a vessel at the mouth of the river Spey, unknown even to his wife or relatives, afraid lest a confession should have been extorted from him by torture. Here, his hurry, his perturbed countenance, his few attendants, and his trepi-

dation on getting on board the vessel—especially as it was a vessel lying there by chance, without any previous preparation—excited so strong a suspicion in the minds of those who were present, that they abstained from no species of contumely towards him, exclaiming, impious, sacrilegious parricide, and whatever other epithet their highest indignation suggested; adding, although he fled the coming of the king, yet he could not think to avoid the avenging providence of God; and they pursued him with execrations after his ship had put to sea, until she was out of sight. On the news of Donald's precipitate flight being brought to Cullen, he hastened his journey, and having apprehended his wife and his three children, he compelled them by the torture to discover the whole nature of the conspiracy, likewise, in what manner, by whom, and where the body was buried; with all which, she, the wife, was not only acquainted, and an accessory, but was a principal. These confessions being made in the hearing of the people—for the torture was openly inflicted—the magistrates could scarcely restrain them from proceeding to illegal violence. A short time after, Donald, who had been for some days tossed about with adverse winds, and at last shipwrecked and cast ashore, was brought to the king, and, together with all his associates, suffered the punishment due to their crimes. Those who brought him to the king, were liberally rewarded with large gifts. His castle was burned, and all who were in it slain. The body of Duff was honourably buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors.

xxiv. As these things strongly won the affections of all good men to Cullen, so his conduct, during the remainder of his life, procured for him a degree of odium, such as no king before him had ever endured. Whether induced by his natural inclination, or urged by the fear of danger—as he wished to have believed—he allowed the severe discipline, which had been maintained under Indulfus and Duff, to be relaxed, and permitted the young men, debauched by intemperate revellings and foreign delicacies, to indulge in a licentiousness, forbidden by the laws, till, at last, they proceeded to open violence and robbery. When he perceived that the greater part of the young nobility were addicted to these practices, he immediate-

ly adopted similar conduct himself, and so openly plunged into debauchery, that he neither respected honourable matrons, nor holy virgins—who were in that age held in peculiar honour for their unspotted chastity—nor even his own sisters and daughters; and he, besides, maintained troops of other girls, procured for him by his pimps, converting his palace into a brothel.

xxv. When admonished of these excesses by prudent counsellors, he defended the youths by alleging their age. For his own part, he confessed, although some things were not perfectly correct, yet he was forced by fear to tolerate them; remembering what a great calamity the excessive severity of the former king had brought, not on himself only, but on the whole kingdom. The nobility, he asserted, were the stay of the land; nor was it true, that by their more free manner of living, their martial spirit was broken, their characters rendered low and abject, or that they neglected the use of arms, as if they never expected war again. The luxuriance of blooming youth, he added, ought to be pruned, lest it should over-run the soil, and with its too great wantonness, choke the fruit, but yet not wholly repressed, lest the seeds of virtue should at the same time be destroyed. On hearing this answer, when the nobles saw that they could make no impression on the king by their admonitions, but exposed themselves to danger by their freedom, they departed from the court, fearing they might be forced to be not only witnesses, but participators of crimes, the very sight and hearing of which, they imagined, rendered them partakers of the guilt; and the king, freed from such disagreeable intruders, gave himself up wholly to conviviality and sensual indulgence, bestowing rewards on those who could invent any new species of pleasure, however obscene or detestable. Night and day the palace rung with lascivious songs and drunken riotings; nor was impudence and intemperance less applauded in his camp, than moderation and modesty usually are among the honourable and the good. For what other men, even when legally enjoying, conceal, was there indulged in openly, and without a blush. The young nobility, enchanted by the allurements of pleasure, and a crowd of flatterers and buffoons, extolled the king to the skies, as the first

who had joined splendour and magnificence with authority, who had tempered the severity of government with mildness, and who had lightened the weight of business by gayety of soul.

xxvi. But, when supplies became necessary for continuing these revels, the opulent were spoiled upon feigned pretences, and the common people were not only permitted to be plundered, but worn out with slavish occupations. If these proceedings were disagreeable to any one, he was either despised as an uncultivated boor, or, if he appeared of a more bold and independent spirit, he was overwhelmed by the accusations of unprincipled spies, as one who endeavoured to excite a revolution. When three years had now passed in the unbounded license of all that was most flagitious, and every body was silent, either through fear or indolence, luxury itself began to inflict its own punishment. The king's strength being exhausted by immoderate sexual indulgence, and his body deformed by luxurious banquetings, he was attacked by diseases, the usual companions of such vices, and an unsightly carcass alone remained, fit merely for suffering the painful effects of his flagitious conduct. The king thus rendered useless for all the purposes of life, the powers both of his body and mind being debilitated by intemperance, and his court being like himself, many ruffians, allured by the hope of plunder and impunity, perpetrated both robbery and murder, without distinction either of poor or rich, despising the one, as abjectly servile through want, and the other, as weak and effeminate by their debauchery. The uncorrupted part of the nobility, surrounded with these complicated evils, and forced to consult respecting the extreme peril of the state, called a public convention at Scoon, at which the king was ordered to attend, that along with the nobles, he might consult, in such a dangerous crisis, respecting the public safety. Struck at this summons, as roused from his slothful slumber, he began to advise with his associates, as to what was the best course to be pursued in such an emergency, and when neither resistance nor flight seemed practicable, although his mind foreboded no good, yet he determined to go to the meeting. And, as the wretched sometimes in their adversity are accustomed to flatter themselves, he did not altogether despair, but, that either

from compassion, or from respect for the memory of his excellent father, he would be able to prevent his being suddenly cast down from the height of fortune, to the extreme of misery. Wherefore, he set out for Scoon with a sufficiently large retinue, but unarmed. When he had arrived near to the village of Methven, he was killed by the thane of that district, whose daughter he had debauched. After his death was known, although every body was glad that the country had been freed from such a monster, with much less trouble than they had expected, yet the crime of Rohard, or Rodard, the thane, was far from being approved of. He reigned, as did the last king, four years and six months.

LXXX. KENNETH III.

XXVII. Cullen was succeeded by Kenneth, third of that name, the brother of Duff, who, in disposition, manners, and the tenor of his whole life, dissimilar to the former king, laboured with as much diligence in correcting the morals of the youth, as the other had done in corrupting them. But his attempt was the more difficult, in as far as the propensity of the human mind is to rush precipitately into vice, whilst we must strive after virtue, in a steep and difficult ascent; which circumstance appears to have been the chief reason why some philosophers have thought, that men were formed with a propensity for enjoying pleasure, but were dragged towards virtue, forcibly, and against their inclination, both assertions, indeed, false. But perhaps the error originated in this, that there exists in man a twofold principle of nature, one of the body, and one of the mind, of which the vigour of the body appears to ripen early, and that of the mind at a later period. As from the roots first spring the stems, then the foliage buds forth, and the flowers spread their lovely blossoms before the seeds begin to be formed in the pods, or in the fruit, and then, when these are matured, all else languish and decay, so our bodies grow strong before the mind acquires strength, or can exert its proper energy; but, as the members of the body begin to grow old, the vigour of the mind increases, and the judgment expands. Wherefore, as we prevent the too great luxuriance of our herbage, either naturally by pasturing, or

artificially by pruning, so laws are appointed to restrain the exuberant impetuosity of youth, till, by care and cultivation, reason acquire strength sufficient to regulate the natural desires of the body. But to return to Kenneth.

XXVIII. He, as he knew well that the inclinations of the people are almost always influenced by those of the prince, and that they assiduously imitate his pursuits, resolved to establish first regularity and good order in his own family, that what he commanded by words he might exemplify by actions, and as he wished his own life to be an example to his domestics, so he wished them in their manners, to be patterns to others. Having purified his court, by removing the ministers of licentiousness and iniquity, he determined, in order to effect a similar reformation in other parts of his kingdom, to perform a circuit, and hold assizes in every county, in which, by punishing thefts, murders, and robberies; by promoting industry by rewards; by soothing advice, and by exhorting the people to concord, he might gradually bring them back to the ancient discipline. But he found the attempt more difficult than he imagined, because a great part of the nobility were either conscious of guilt themselves, and afraid of punishment, or else, they were connected with criminal relations; wherefore, when the first meeting was held at Lanark, a town of Clydesdale, those who were summoned to appear, being warned of their danger by their relatives, fled, some to the Æbudæ, and others to other places equally infamous for robberies. The king, when he perceived the trick, and knew with whom it had originated, dissembled his anger and broke up the assembly, then passed with a few attendants into Galloway, as if to pay a vow to Saint Ninian. There he calmly consulted with those he thought most faithfully attached to him, respecting the state of the country, and the conduct to be pursued in present circumstances. The result was, that next year, a convention of the whole nobility should be assembled at Scoon, for deliberating on whatever pertained to the general good. There the leaders of the faction might be apprehended without tumult, and they, once in custody, could be forced, by means of their vassals and friends, to bring the malefactors before the king.

XXIX. This advice being approved of, the design was kept secret, and entrusted but to a few, till the meeting at Scoon assembled. Then, having by trusty persons procured soldiers, he ordered them to be introduced privately into the houses adjoining the royal residence, and, next day, when a great number of the nobility had come to the palace, and had been received graciously, and with kind speeches, by the king, suddenly, upon a given signal, the council was surrounded by armed men. The whole assembly being struck with terror and surprise, at this unexpected appearance, the king encouraged them by a soothing speech; he told them, if any one among them was alarmed at what they saw, he might lay aside all apprehension, for no harm was intended to the loyal, or the innocent; nor had these armed men been assembled for their destruction, but their safety, which all must be convinced of, who had observed his conduct since he ascended the throne, as it had been directed, not only to the punishment of the vicious, but to the preservation of the estates of the nobles, whether hereditary, or acquired by valour and industry, and, that every one might enjoy the royal munificence, according to their merit and rank; but that these ends he only could accomplish by their assistance. Last year, he added, when he had summoned several of the offenders to appear, none came at the day appointed, that this had occurred, he understood, not from any confidence in their own strength, but trusting to their relations and friends, which, if true, was calamitous to the public, and disgraceful to those friends. But now the time was come, when they might both wipe away these aspersions, and free the country from such outrages, which could be easily accomplished, if the more powerful would, every one within his own jurisdiction, apprehend, and bring to punishment the public robbers. Who these were, every body knew. But, if they framed excuses, and when they possessed the power of deserving well of their country wanted the inclination, the king, to whom was committed the charge of preserving the safety of the community, would not be blameless, if he allowed them to depart before the guilty were punished. It was for this end that he detained them, and, if being kept longer in confinement was disagree-

able to any of them, he must blame himself, as it was in the power of every one, not to obtain liberty only, but praise, honours, rewards, and the thanks of every good subject. To this the nobles, when they had consulted together, replied, that they would rather choose to prove their innocence by deeds than by words. They then frankly promised the king their assistance in his labours, and each besought him, if he had conceived any suspicion against any of them, to lay it aside. When they had thus solemnly promised their aid, the king gave them the names of the delinquents. The chiefs having made diligent search, by means of their friends, for the criminals, in a short time produced them to Kenneth, who having punished them, set the nobles at liberty, laden with gifts, besides many splendid promises, the people, at the same time, imploring blessings both on the king and the chieftains. Domestic quiet being thus procured, the treaty which the former kings had made with the English, was sacredly observed by Kenneth as long as he lived.

xxx. This general tranquillity, however, of the whole of Britain, was soon interrupted by the Danes, a numerous fleet of whom anchored near Red-head, in Angus. They remained there several days, consulting whether they should disembark on the neighbouring coast, or proceed to England, whither they were steering. Many were of opinion, that they should sail direct for England, a fruitful country, where they would find subsistence for their army, and be re-enforced by auxiliaries, for there were numbers of Danish descent still remaining there, besides many who were strongly attached by the bonds of ancient friendship to the Danes, all these would flock to them on their first appearance, as they had usually hitherto done. In Scotland, on the other hand, the people were fierce by nature, and, like all inhabitants of barren and niggardly soils, hardy and active, who were never attacked without immense slaughter, and if vanquished, no benefit could be derived from the victory; while if they conquered, irretrievable ruin must be the consequence of defeat. Others differed from this opinion, alleging, that if they should make a descent upon England, they must contend with both nations at once, but if the Scots were overcome first, the war with England would

be easily managed, they being deprived of external assistance, and terrified by the slaughter of their allies. Nor was it worthy of great minds to be intent upon plunder alone, they ought rather to remember their ancestors and friends, so often cruelly slaughtered in Scotland, and now, when fully equipped for war, and with an army capable of executing their revenge, they ought to inflict a signal punishment upon the Scots, and spread the terror of the Danish name among all the neighbouring nations.

xxxI. These sentiments prevailing, the fleet set sail for the mouth of the river Esk, where they landed their forces, seized and plundered the nearest town on the coast, levelled the castle with the ground, and murdered the citizens without distinction of age or sex. They spread similar devastation throughout all Angus, as far as the Frith of Tay. Exaggerated accounts of these calamities being brought to the king, who was then at Stirling, by the fugitives, who had escaped the fury of the enemy, he, after consulting with his chieftains, appointed an early day for the population of the neighbourhood to assemble in arms, and wrote to them at a distance, to accelerate their march, while he proceeded with the forces he had collected, to observe the motions of the enemy, and to prevent, as much as possible, their pillage. In a short time, a great multitude resorted to the king's camp, which was pitched at the confluence of the Tay and the Earn, and, as he was there mustering his forces, news were brought him, that the enemy, having marched along the Tay, was besieging Perth. Roused at the danger of a place so near, he immediately proceeded thither. As soon as he came within sight of the Danes, the Scots, who were anxious for revenge, eagerly prepared for the fight, and immediately forming in order of battle in the plain, proceeded against the enemy. The Danes, however, were stationed on a hill opposite, where they could not be attacked without prodigious risk; but being forced thence by the archers and dartmen, a sanguinary conflict took place at the bottom of the hills. While the battle raged with terrible slaughter, and victory yet being doubtful, the Danish leaders sent the watchword through their whole line, that no man must ever hope to return to the camp, unless victorious

This signal was received by the men with loud acclamations, who charged with such impetuosity, that both wings of the Scots army gave way, and betaking themselves to flight, were keenly pursued.

xxxii. This day must have closed dark, and fatally for the Scots, had it not been for the assistance rendered by one individual, sent as it were from heaven, in a moment of almost desperate peril. A country-man, of the name of Hay, who by chance, with his two sons, was ploughing in a neighbouring field, over which a great number of the fugitives were running, being men of daring minds, great strength of body, and inflamed with a strong love for their country; the father seized the yoke, and the sons whatever instruments came readiest, as arms, and taking their station in a narrow pass, through which the fugitives must proceed, endeavoured, first by reproaches, and then by threats, to stop them, but when neither were of any avail, struck down those who were nearest, exclaiming, that they too would be Danes to the runaways. On this, the more timid stopped, and the braver, who had been carried away, not so much by fear of the enemy, as by the disorderly crowd of their own people, joined with them crying out, that assistance was at hand. Thus the whole band turned upon the foe, and forced the Danes back upon their friends, in as precipitate and disorderly a flight, as that from which they themselves had just been rescued. At this trepidation of the Danes, the baggage servants, and the unwarlike countrymen sent up a shout, as if they had been a new army approaching, which so animated the Scots, and terrified the Danes, that the one from a state of desperation, were raised to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and the other, instead of the hoped for victory, sustained a certain and terrible calamity. This is that victory which was obtained near the village of Luncarty, which was celebrated with the greatest rejoicings during many days, and the fame of which will extend to the latest posterity.

xxxiii. When the victors were dividing the spoil, Hay was the object of universal applause; numbers of noblemen attesting, that wherever he and his sons attacked, there the Scottish ranks were restored, and those of the enemy overthrown. In

short, all with one accord acknowledged that to them they owed the fruits of the day, victory, fame, and national independence. Hay, on being brought to the king, modestly spoke of his services, and on being offered splendid robes for himself and his sons, to render their entrance into Perth more conspicuous, he declined the honour, and only wiping away the dust from the garments which he wore every day, and carrying the yoke he had used in battle, he entered the city, preceded by an advanced guard, and followed, at a considerable distance, by a numerous train appointed by the king. The attention and admiration of all who had assembled to see this novel spectacle, were turned upon him alone, and he, only, appeared to carry off the triumph of the day. After the departure of the Danes, peace being restored so quickly, and beyond all expectation, in a convention of the nobles, which was held a few days after at Scoon, the first question which was agitated, was what honours and rewards should be awarded Hay and his sons. An estate was bestowed upon them, one of the most fertile in Scotland, which his posterity, now increased into many opulent families, enjoy even to this day; and he was himself raised from the plebeian rank, created a noble, and a coat of arms as usual assigned him; the bearings were a silver shield, on which ground three red shields were painted; * which insignia, in my opinion, signify that the public safety was defended by the singular bravery of three men in battle.†

* In the heraldic terms, Argent three Escutcheon gules.

† Kenneth III. The battle of Luncarty has been altogether denied, because the story of the Hays is probably fictitious, but the field on which it is said to have been contested, bears indubitable marks of some great engagement having been fought upon it. *Statist. Acct.* vol. xv. p. 525--7. And there is not even a surmise of any other battle ever having been fought near that place, nor can any reason be given for doubting the fact, but that it is connected with some seemingly fabulous circumstances, a reason, which if allowed, would go far to overturn all early history.

A different account of the family of the Hays, is given by Chalmers. They are by him deduced from a Norman origin, and he states the first of the name to have been William Hay, or De Hay, who, he says, settled in Scotland at the middle of the twelfth century; but his only authority is from his name being attached as a witness, to old charters, which, although it prove the existence of the family at the time in Scotland, proves nothing with regard to its origin.

xxxiv. By this victory peace appeared secured to the country for many years, when some troublesome domestic occurrences disturbed it. The commotion occasioned by the vagabond islanders, who plundered Ross-shire, was soon suppressed, many of the robbers being slain in battle, and many who were taken in flight executed. Crathilinthus, however—the son of Fenella, or as others call her, Finabella—excited a much more serious insurrection. He was then the principal chieftain of Mearns, both on account of the antiquity of his family, and the extent of his possessions. His maternal grandfather Cruthinetus, was appointed by the king, governor of that part of Mearns which lies between the two Esks, rivers of the same name, and gathered in the royal tribute; and his grandson having come to visit him, attended by a numerous, retinue, a sudden quarrel arose among their servants, in which two of Crathilinthus' vassals were slain. On complaining of this injury to his grandfather, the blame was thrown upon the turbulence of his own followers, and being sharply reproved by the old man, he was dismissed, amid the sarcastic taunts of the servants and domestics. Wherefore, returning home enraged, he complained of the affront to his mother, who, so far from allaying the anger of the incensed youth by soothing language, or endeavouring to restore his mind to tranquillity, roused the storm, and by her invectives, excited him even to commit parricide. The mother armed her son against her own father and his grandfather. Accordingly, not long after, Crathilinthus, having collected a body of armed ruffians, came by night to his grandfather's castle, in Angus-shire, where, being unsuspectingly received along with a few companions, he gave a signal to the rest of his attendants, who arose from the places where they were concealed, and also gained admission; then the grandson murdered his aged

The Chron. Pict. mention that among his other pious deeds, Kenneth gave Brechin to the church.

The murder of the son of Indulfus is recorded by Tighernac, and the alteration of the succession is allowed by all; but it is probable that Buchanan embellished the transactions, and afforded the arguments, which are used upon the occasion—a liberty claimed by historians in that age, and not considered as incompatible with the truth of history.

grandfather with his whole family, and not only plundered his castle, but wasted the whole country round; after which he returned triumphantly to the Mearns, laden with immense plunder, as if he had performed a noble exploit. But the Anguscians did not allow this injury to remain long unrevenged, for speedily collecting a great number of their party, they returned the devastation manifold upon the fields of the Mearneans.

xxxv. From that time, murders and rapine were perpetrated, on both sides, as opportunity occurred, which when Kenneth was informed of—fearing lest the factions should increase in strength, and greater disturbances ensue—he summoned the chiefs of both parties to appear at Scoon, within fifteen days, to stand trial. A few, alarmed at the threats of this severe edict, made their appearance on the appointed day, but the greater number, among whom was Crathilinthus, the author of the mischief, conscious of their own demerits, fled, every one to where they could conveniently effect their escape. The king having made diligent inquiry after the criminals, some were apprehended in various places, but the greater part were taken in Lochaber. Crathilinthus, and the chiefs of the faction, suffered death, the others were chastised with milder punishments, according to their degrees of guilt, and some who had but slightly erred were pardoned. This equitable distribution of justice, procured for the king, respectful awe from the wicked, yet the most cordial affection from the good; and preserved the peace of his kingdom till the twenty-second year of his reign.

xxxvi. Had Kenneth continued in the same course of life in which he had begun, he would justly have been esteemed among the best of princes, for he had so fulfilled the duties both of war and of peace, that he had procured for himself the highest praise, for fortitude, constancy, and equity. But he stained the excellence of his former life by a most atrocious deed, which appeared the more infamous, being so incredible, and so little expected from one of his disposition, who had hitherto so severely punished any remarkable delinquency. The occasion of his crime was this:—The king being now advanced in years, had a son, Malcolm, a youth, indeed, of a bright genius, but who, in case of his own death, was of too

tender an age to govern so fierce a people, even although the custom of our ancestors had not been opposed to his reigning immediately after his father, for they chose from the relations of a deceased king, not the nearest of kin, but the most fit, to reign as his successor, provided only he were descended from Fergus, the first king of the Scots; besides, the inclinations of the nobility were decidedly in favour of another Malcolm, the son of king Duff, who was the first in every species of renown among the Scottish youth, and who, besides, was governor of Cumberland, which country the Scots then held as feudatory to the kings of England, and the governor of Cumberland was generally looked upon as the heir apparent of the kingdom, and had been so for some ages.

xxxvii. The king, therefore, saw in this Malcolm, from the causes we have mentioned, an obstacle to his hopes and wishes, but not daring openly to put him to death, he took care to have him privately carried off by poison. Thus died this excellent youth, to the universal grief of the nation, at a period when he had nearly reached the realization of his hopes. Some marks of poison indeed appeared upon the body, but no one ever imagined a suspicion of the king. Nor did the king omit any thing which could tend to avert such an idea; he lamented his death, and as often as he spoke of him, made honourable mention of his memory. He caused his funeral to be celebrated with great magnificence, and omitted no ceremony, which he thought could in the smallest degree tend to the honour of the deceased. But this too great anxiety to remove all ground of suspicion, caused him to be suspected by the more sagacious, though they concealed their sentiments on account of the universally high opinion entertained of his sanctity. But when the king afterwards began to throw out some hints, and sound the inclinations of the people, as to how they would suffer the abrogation of the ancient laws, and the enactment of new ones, respecting the succession of the crown, viz. that according to the institutions of many nations, on the death of the kings, their children should succeed, and, if under age, that the government should be given to guardians, so that the royal title should remain with the boys, and the power be committed to their guardians.

Although a great number of the nobility, in order to gratify the monarch, applauded these sentiments, yet it was a suspicion of the death of Malcolm, and the fear of Kenneth, that prevailed with the majority of the nobility, especially those of the blood royal, to apparently approve them.

xxxviii. While the people's minds were thus affected, ambassadors arrived from England, to condole with Kenneth, on the death of his relative, and, likewise, to desire, that in appointing another governor to Cumberland, he would remember that that magistrate was the medium and bond of concord between the neighbouring kingdoms, and choose such an one as would cherish the ancient friendship of both nations, and extinguish any new suspicions that might arise. The king, thinking this embassy suitable for his purpose, called a meeting of the nobility at Scoon, in which he inveighed strongly against the ancient practices of the assemblies of the estates of the kingdom, and enumerated all the seditions which from the beginning had arisen from this cause; how villanously the children of former kings had been treated by the cruelty of their relations: how many wars had thence arisen, and what rapine, murder, and exile, had been the consequence. On the other hand, he pointed out how much less turbulent were the assemblies of other nations, in proportion to the respect they bore to propinquity, and where the children succeeded their parents without contention. When he had thus spoken, he referred the subject to the council for their determination, and, likewise, informed them of the demand of the king of England. In order, at the same time, to give a greater proof of his gracious condescension, although it was in the power of the king to nominate the governor of Cumberland, yet he permitted the whole to give their votes, believing, that by this moderation, he would the more easily obtain what he asked with regard to the succession, while, by giving the government to his son, he would have appeared to prejudge the other question; for, as I have said before, the command of Cumberland was always considered as a designation of the heir apparent.

xxxix. Those who were thought most likely to oppose both propositions, Constantine, the son of Cullen, and Grim, the

son of Mongal, king Duff's brother, on being first asked their judgment, partly from the fear of danger, and partly that they might not oppose a great number of the nobility, who had been previously corrupted by the king, said, that it belonged to him to correct such laws as were hurtful to the public, and appoint such governors as he thought proper. The rest, when they heard them deliver this opinion, although they knew they did not speak their real sentiments, yet they approved of what they had said, and thus, Malcolm, the king's son, although in his minority, was declared governor of Cumberland, and prince of the Scots—a title, among the Scots, equivalent to Dauphin among the French, Cæsar among the first emperors of Rome, or king of the Romans among the Germans, all of which designate the successor to the preceding monarch. Other laws were also passed, enacting, that whereas the eldest son of the king was declared the successor to his father, so, on the death of the said son, before his father, the grandson should succeed his grandfather in the kingdom; that on the king being a minor, some person eminent for wisdom and power should be chosen regent, to administer the affairs of the kingdom during the minority, until the king should arrive at the age of fourteen years; at which age the king should have the liberty of choosing his own guardians. Many other laws besides were enacted, settling the legitimate succession of heirs, in which the same principle was recognized with regard to the nobility, which had been established with respect to the crown.

XL. The king having thus, by iniquity, secured, as he thought, the throne to his posterity, yet could not obtain for himself peace of mind; for although he behaved towards every person with the utmost courtesy and appearance of benevolence, performed towards a great many acts of peculiar kindness, and so governed the kingdom, that he appeared deficient in no duty of a good king, yet his soul, disturbed by a consciousness of his crime, permitted him to enjoy no solid or sincere pleasure; in retirement the thoughts of his unholy deed rushing upon his recollection, tormented him; and in sleep, visions full of horror, drove repose far from his pillow. At last, whether in truth an audible voice from heaven addressed him,

as is reported, or whether it were the suggestion of his own guilty mind, as often happens to the wicked, in the silent watches of the night, he seemed thus to be admonished :— Dost thou think that the murder of the innocent Malcolm, perpetrated secretly by thee with the most consummate villainy, is either unknown to me, or can remain longer unpunished? Even now, snares are spread for thy life, which thou canst not escape. Nor shalt thou leave, as thou imaginest, a stable and secure throne to thy posterity. They shall inherit an agitated and a tempestuous kingdom. Terrified by this dreadful apparition, the king, early in the morning, hastened to the bishops and monks, to whom he unfolded the agitation of his mind, and his repentance. But they, instead of directing him to the true remedy in the gospel of Christ—for they had already much declined from ancient piety and learning—enjoined upon him these absurd and fallacious propitiations invented by designing wretches for the sake of gain, and rashly complied with by the simple and uninstructed—that he should enrich by munificent gifts churches and monasteries; that he should visit the sepulchres of the saints, kiss their relics, and expiate his sins by masses and alms; and above all, that he should treat the priests and monks with greater reverence than he had ever hitherto done. Nor did the king omit to perform any of these pious fooleries, believing that he would derive from them relief to his wounded conscience.

XLI. At length, in the course of his devotional exercises, having come to Mearns, to worship the bones of St. Palladius, he turned aside to visit the neighbouring castle of Fettercairn, then, as we are informed, remarkable for its buildings, and delightfully surrounded with woods, of which almost no vestiges now remain. The lady of this castle was Fenella—formerly mentioned—who was exasperated against the king, not only on account of the punishment of her son, Crathilinthus, but, also, because her relations, Constantine and Grim, were excluded from the succession to the kingdom by the new law. Dissembling, however, her anger, she received the king frankly, and entertained him with great magnificence. After dinner, when he proceeded to view the beauties of the place, and the structure of the castle, Fenella led him into a secret

chamber, to show him a brazen statue, formed with peculiar art, and so ingeniously constructed, that on loosening a little cord, which was fastened in a secret place, a flight of arrows was let off. While the king was attentively admiring the ingenuity of the contrivance, an arrow, sent from the machine, struck him, and killed him on the spot. Both Joannes Major, and Hector Boethius, have recorded that Kenneth met with his death in this manner; which does not, however, to me, seem very likely. Nor does it appear credible, that, after the extinction of the elegant arts among other nations, a statue could have been so ingeniously fabricated in the remotest corner of Britain, although Major tells us, that Edmund, the son of Edred, was slain by a similar contrivance. Both are, in my opinion, equally fabulous. Neither can I readily persuade myself, that there were as many precious stones in the whole of Scotland, as what Boethius bestows upon that woman alone. Wherefore, I the more willingly accede to their opinion, among whom is Winton, who tell us that the king was slain by some horsemen, placed in ambush by the order of Fenella. He died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, A. D. 994; a prince truly illustrious in every part of his character, had not the murder of Malcolm, and his too great partiality for his relations, thrown a shade over his most brilliant achievements.

LXXXI. CONSTANTINE IV.

XLII. After the death of Kenneth, Constantine, the son of Cullen, surnamed the bald, canvassed for the kingdom, by personal solicitations, in a manner which had never previously been practised. He went among men of all ranks, to procure their votes, complaining, that he, and the rest of the blood royal, had been circumvented by the fraud of Kenneth, and excluded from the hope of the kingdom, under covert of an iniquitous law, to which he, with his other relatives, were forced through fear to consent. Nor was it difficult to expose the defects of this law:—For what could be more foolish than to withdraw that, which above every thing else was the most important, from the decision and suffrages of the wise, and commit it to the will of fortune; and to bind themselves to

obey a child, forced upon them by the accident of birth, who might himself be ruled by any silly woman, while they drove, in the meantime, from the helm, men who were pre-eminent in virtue. What if the children of the king should labour under any disorder of body or mind, which would render them unfit for reigning? What if boys had governed in those times when we struggled so often with the Romans, the Britons, the Picts, the English, and the Danes, not for dominion, but for existence? Or what greater sign of insanity can be exhibited, than to procure for ourselves, by law, that affliction which God threatens as the heaviest and the last calamity to the rebellious; to despise the menaces of the divine prophets, or rather to incur them of our own accord? Nor is it true, what the flatterers of Kenneth are accustomed to urge, that the murders and robberies of the royal family may be prevented, for the children of the king, during their minority, will not have less to fear from the designs of their guardians, than they had formerly from those of their relations. Wherefore, now, the tyrant being removed, let us resolutely recover that liberty of which we have been deprived by him, and abrogate that law, procured by violence, and accepted by fear, if it can be called a law, and not rather a shackling of public liberty, and return, while we can, to our ancient institutions, which at first raised this kingdom almost from nothing, and advanced it from small beginnings, to such a magnitude, that it yields to none of its neighbours; yea, has so often, from the lowest extremity, exalted it to the highest pitch of glory. But if we do not embrace the present opportunity while it offers itself, when it has eluded our grasp, hereafter we may seek it in vain.

XLIII. By canvassing among the nobles, and everywhere discoursing in a similar strain, Constantine collected a great multitude, and trusting to that faction came to Scoon, where, on the twelfth day after the funeral of Kenneth, he was declared king. Malcolm, who in the mean time, directed the funeral of his father, upon hearing that Constantine reigned, called together his friends, to consult in this exigence. Some advised, that before he attempted any thing, he should prove the dispositions of the nobles, in order to calculate the army which would be requisite against so popular a man, supported

by so many friends and factions, and then formed his resolution according to the extent of his force. The younger and more daring, despised these as timid counsels, and insisted upon meeting the danger at first, and attacking Constantine before he could be established in his new kingdom. The young king embraced the latter opinion, as being the most plausible, and having collected about ten thousand men, marched towards the enemy. Nor was Constantine remiss. In a short time he collected such an army, that Malcolm, on the report of his approach, disbanded his followers, and retired to Cumberland; but Kenneth, his natural brother, who thought such conduct disgraceful, having persuaded some battalions of the bravest to remain, posted himself opposite the enemy, near Stirling, along the river Forth, which formed the boundary between them. There, when both parties lay inactive on the high banks of the river, which is fordable but in a few places, famine and pestilence, with which plagues the country that year was grievously afflicted, forced each army to disband. And the kingdom, being divided into two factions, the common people were miserably distressed by pestilence, famine, and robbery.

XLIV. During the absence of Malcolm, who, according to treaty, was assisting the English against the Danes, Constantine, thinking that a favourable opportunity had offered for suppressing his opponents, marched with a large army into Lothian. Kenneth, who had been left by his brother to watch the motions of Constantine, opposed his advance at the mouth of the river Almond, but being inferior in strength, he had recourse to stratagem. He drew up his army so as to have the sun and the wind on their back, and his flanks, as much as possible, defended by the river, which arrangement chiefly procured him the victory; for Constantine, trusting to his numbers, when he rushed eagerly to battle, besides the inconvenience of an adverse sun, a breeze, suddenly arising drove such a cloud of dust in their faces and eyes, that his soldiers could scarcely discern the countenance of an enemy. In both armies the carnage was dreadful; and the leaders themselves, having met in the shock of battle, fell, transfixed

with mutual wounds, a year and six months after Constantine had usurped the kingdom.

LXXXII. GRIM.

XLV. Grim, the son of king Duff, or as others say of Mogall, his brother, on the death of Constantine, was carried to Scoon by his faction, and there proclaimed king. Having found some of the nobles of his party already corrupted, and others tampered with, by emissaries from Malcolm, he seized several of these emissaries, and threw them into prison. Malcolm, who wished that this action should be considered as a violation of the law of nations, openly declared war. Whilst Grim was hastening to oppose him, a sudden rumour of the number and strength of his forces was spread through the hostile army, which deranged all the plans of Malcolm; many of his soldiers daily deserted privately, and numbers, under various pretences, openly desired their dismissal. This alarm, which originated with the merchants, who preferred their own private advantage to the public good, by degrees pervaded the whole army. There were besides, numbers who were secretly attached to Grim, for he possessed many attaching qualifications. He was tall in stature, and to a majestic form was joined the greatest courtesy, blended with a peculiar gracefulness of manner, yet when necessary, he was rigid in punishing offences, and in managing his affairs, he mingled despatch with prudence, all which naturally excited the expectation of enjoying under his government a happy and honourable repose. Malcolm, in this distracted state of public opinion, not daring rashly to commit any thing to fortune, by the advice of his friends dismissed the greater part of his army, and with a few select troops, determined to oppose the passage of the enemy across the Forth.

XLVI. In the meanwhile, Fothadus, a bishop of great authority among all parties, on account of the high opinion entertained of his sanctity, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation, and by frequently interposing between the parties, he at last brought them to agree to a truce for three months—Grim retiring to Angus, and Malcolm to Cumberland—arbitrators to be chosen on both sides, to settle the matters in

dispute. Nor did Fothadus rest till the following conditions of peace were concluded. That Grim should retain the title of king as long as he lived; that on his death the kingdom should revert to Malcolm, and, that afterwards the law of Kenneth, establishing the succession to the kingdom in the children of the king, should be sacred and inviolable. In the meantime, the wall of Severus should be the common boundary of both; that which lay without the wall belonging to Malcolm, and all beyond it, belonging to Grim. That both were to be contented with these limits, and neither to invade the territories, nor assist the enemies of the other. Thus peace was established, to the great joy of all good men, and for nearly eight years was observed with the greatest fidelity. The cause of its violation originated with Grim. In the trying period at the beginning of his reign, Grim had afforded an example of a good prince; but his activity being relaxed by ease, he gave himself wholly up to pleasure; then want arising as is usual from luxury, and avarice springing from his necessity, he confiscated many of the rich upon fictitious accusations. On being admonished of the danger of such conduct by his nobles, so far was he from abandoning his unjust procedure, that, although he invited his monitors kindly to come to court, he determined to throw them into prison, that others, terrified by their punishment, might be deterred from using similar liberty with regard to kings. They, however, on being warned by their friends, withdrew and escaped, which so exasperated Grim, that he immediately raised a body of men whom he led against them, and wasted their estates more cruelly than any foreign invader, sparing neither men, houses, cattle, nor corn, and what he could not carry away, he rendered useless to the owners. Nor did any thing sacred or profane, remain inviolate from the flame or the sword.

XLVII. Malcolm, who was then assisting the English with his whole strength, against the Danes, was recalled home by the complaints of his people, nor was he incensed only at the unmerited sufferings of so many illustrious and innocent persons, but he was still more indignant at the conduct of Grim, who, because he knew that the kingdom must soon pass to another family, without any reference to the future, collected

the present produce, as if it had been the spoil of an enemy. At the return of Malcolm, a great concourse assembled around him, and Grim, who had been formerly so dear to the people for his uncommon endowments, both of body and mind, was deserted by the greatest part of the nobles; yet, having collected as many troops as he could, he advanced to meet his opponents. When the armies had approached near each other, upon Ascension-day, Grim, who knew how holily Malcolm would observe that festival, determined to attack him, unsuspecting, and unprepared. But intelligence of Grim's design being brought to Malcolm, he kept his army in readiness, under arms, and though he confidently expected victory in so good a cause, yet he sent a message to Grim, advising him as a Christian, not to pollute the memory of that sacred day, with the blood of their countrymen. Grim, however, persisted in his determination, and having drawn out his army in order of battle, marched forward to attack his rival, representing to his soldiers, that the pretended reverence of Malcolm for the holy festival, proceeded from fear, and was to them a sure omen of victory. But while the battle, which began keenly, was raging with the greatest fury, Grim, suddenly deserted by his soldiers, was wounded in the head, taken prisoner, and presently after deprived of his eyes. He did not long survive his disaster, for the anguish of his mind inflaming his wound, put an end to his sufferings in the tenth year of his reign. Malcolm behaved magnanimously towards the vanquished. He caused Grim to be laid in the sepulchre of his ancestors, and, burying in oblivion the memory of all past offences, received into his favour, the faction which had followed him. Then having called an assembly at Scoon, he would not undertake the government, until the law which his father had enacted, had been publicly ratified by their unanimous suffrages.

LXXXIII. MALCOLM II.

XLVIII. Immediately upon assuming the government, Malcolm endeavoured to restore vigour to the state, torn as it was by factions. First, he pardoned all offences which had been committed against himself, and then he took care that the

adherents of both parties should forget their ancient animosities. He next sent governors, chosen from among the nobility, pious and just men, into all the provinces, to repress the robbers, who had increased during the previous licentiousness. The husbandmen too, were by this means, enabled to resume their labours, the markets became more plentiful, commerce safer, and public tranquillity more secure. During these transactions, Sueno, the son of Harold, king of Denmark, being banished from home, came to Scotland. He having been often conquered by the Vandals, and taken and redeemed, after he had in vain begged assistance from Olave, king of Scandinavia, and Edward, king of England, came at last to the Scots, where, from the bitterest enemy having become a convert to Christianity, he received a few forces, and returned to his kingdom, and thence with a great army passed over to England. He first conquered the English alone, and afterwards, when they were joined by some Scottish auxiliaries, whom he had previously threatened greatly, because they had refused to leave the English and return home. Nor were his threats in vain; for he sent Olave, of Scandinavia, and Eneck commander-in-chief of the Danes, with a powerful army into Scotland. These spread over all Moray, murdering wherever they went, and carrying off every thing sacred and profane, till at last, collected into one body, they attacked the castles, and other fortified places.

XLIX. While they were besieging these fortresses, Malcolm, having collected a large army from the neighbouring counties, advanced against them. When they came in sight of the enemy's camp, the multitude of the Danes, and their immense warlike preparations, struck them with consternation. But after the king had fruitlessly attempted to encourage them, a shout being raised by those who wished to appear more courageous than the others, and which spread like a contagion, they rushed furiously upon the enemy, without waiting for the orders of their leaders, and precipitated themselves upon the outstretched weapons of the Danes. The most forward being slain, the rest betook themselves to flight, with greater rapidity than they had made the advance, and the king, grievously wounded in the head, was carried by his attendants, into a

neighbouring wood, put upon a horse, and thus escaped with his life. In consequence of this victory, the Danes obtained possession of the castle of Nairn, for the garrison, terrified at the unfortunate issue of the battle, immediately surrendered, notwithstanding which, however, they were all put to the sword. The castle, which was conveniently situated, they fortified more strongly, and converted the peninsula on which it stood, into an island, by cutting a passage across the isthmus for the sea, and called it by the Danish name of Burgh. The other castles of Elgin and Forres, were deserted through fear of the cruelty of the enemy. The Danes resolving to improve their uninterrupted success, determined to settle in Moray, and sent their fleet home to transport thither their wives and children, inflicting in the mean time, every species of the most cruel slavery upon their captives. Malcolm, in order to oppose their incursions, as they had now advanced into Marr, having collected a more powerful, and better disciplined army than before, met them at Mortlach, not without much consternation upon both sides. The Scots fearing the cruelty of the Danes, and the Danes unacquainted with the country, and at a distance from the sea, were more afraid of ambushes, than of the enemy. At the commencement of the battle, the Scots had their terrors increased by the death of three of their chieftains, who fell in succession—Kenneth, thane of the isles, Grim, thane of Strathearn, and Dunbar, thane of Lothian, and being beaten back, they retreated to their former strong hold, which was in their rear, where they drew a line of circumvallation by a rampart, ditch, and palisadoes, and waited in a narrow pass with a determined front towards the enemy, some of whom, as if the victory had been complete, incautiously attacked the intrenchments, and were there slain, among whom was Eneck, one of their leaders. This occurrence, as it tended to dishearten the Danes, inflamed the Scots with fresh courage, and the fortune of the day having changed, as it were, almost in a moment, the Danes became the fugitives, and the Scots the pursuers; Olave, another of the commanders, having procured guides, bent his course during the night towards Moray. But Malcolm, although informed of this circumstance, having slain the brav-

est in battle, and wounded a great number, desisted from pursuing.

L. When the news of this defeat were brought to Sueno, in England, he bore the intelligence with great equanimity, and despatched, a reinforcement to the army, composed partly of veterans, and partly of new levies lately arrived from home, under the command of Camus. He first came to the Frith of Forth, when being prevented from landing by the inhabitants, who every where opposed his attempts, he sailed for the Red-head in Angus. Having landed his soldiers there, and in vain attacked several fortified places, he began to plunder. When he had pitched his camp at Balbride, that is, the village of St. Bride, he learned from his spies, that the Scottish forces were scarcely two miles distant. Both leaders, in the interval, encouraged their men for the fight; and next day, almost at the same moment, the armies were drawn out in battle array. On the third day they closed, and the conflict was maintained with all the obstinacy which new hopes and ancient animosity could inspire. At last, the Scots being conquerors, Camus endeavoured to withdraw the remains of his army to the mountains, which he understood to be the road which led to Moray; but, before he had proceeded two miles, being surrounded by his pursuers, he perished with all his followers. The monuments of this victory still remain. An obelisk, and a village in the neighbourhood, still preserve the memory of the name of Camus.* Another band was cut off near the town of Brechin, where there is likewise another obelisk erected; the rest, now reduced to a small number, under covert of night, effected a retreat on board their ships. These, when they had been tossed for several days by adverse winds on a tempestuous sea, driven at last upon the havenless coast of Buchan, they there cast anchor, and were detained so long by unfavourable winds, that, reduced to the utmost necessity, they were forced to land about five hundred men, to forage in the neighbouring fields; these Mernan, thane of the country, having intercepted, forced to ascend a steep hill; there, assisted by the advantages of the ground, they defended themselves with

* The village is called Cameston, and the obelisk, Cameston cross.

rocks, and slew many of the Scots who rashly ventured to attack them, till several parties exhorting each other, and trusting to their numbers, ascended the mountain, when the Danes were cut off to a man. To this day, when the wind raises the sand at Balbride, many bones are uncovered, of larger dimensions than can well agree with the stature of men of these times.

LI. Sueno, not disheartened by this calamity, sent his son, Canute, with a new levy to Scotland, who, having landed in Buchan, and proceeding to plunder, Malcolm marched with his army against them, although he had not yet recruited his strength after the former battles; but not daring to commit himself to the chance of fortune, he judged it most expedient, to prevent the enemy from plundering, to waste him by skirmishing, hoping that he would soon be reduced by want, in a strange country, already wasted by the disasters of war, and almost reduced to a desert. Having prosecuted this design for several days, it happened, that upon becoming acquainted with the force of the enemy, the Scots acquired more confidence in their own strength, and both armies being equally pressed with famine, they both anxiously desired the signal for battle, threatening, unless they received it, they would fight even without the consent of their commanders. Malcolm, therefore, drew up his men in order of battle, and the engagement commencing with fury and desperation, was contested to the last with so much obstinacy, that neither party had any great cause for rejoicing; and although the name of victory remained with the Scots, yet the greater part of their nobility being slain, and the rest so fatigued with their exertions, and so exhausted in their spirits, they returned to their camp, leaving the Danes at liberty to retire at their leisure without pursuit. Next day, when each reviewed their army, and found that they had suffered such immense slaughter, they willingly listened to the offers of the priests to mediate a peace, which was concluded upon the following conditions:—That the Danes should leave Moray and Brechin, and depart; that neither of the nations, during the lives of Malcolm or Sueno, should attack the other in war, nor should the one give assistance to the enemies of the other; and that the field on which the bat-

tle had been fought, should be consecrated to the burial of the dead. Upon this the Danes withdrew, and Malcolm gave orders for the burial of those who had fallen in battle. Some time after this, having called an assembly at Scoon, to reward those who had deserved well of their country, he divided among the nobles all the royal lands. They, on the other hand, granted, that when any of them died, their children should be under the tutorage of the king, until they reached their twenty-first year, and, that the king should receive the whole rents, except what was necessary to defray the expense of the children's education. Besides, that the power of disposing of them in marriage, when they arrived at the age of puberty, should belong to him, and also, that he should retain the dowry. I believe, however, that this law was borrowed from the English or the Danes, because it still continues in force, in all England, and part of Normandy.

LII. The king then applied himself to repair the damages occasioned by the war. He rebuilt many churches, which the enemy had thrown down, and restored the castles, in all the towns where they had been dismantled, or erected new ones. Having thus procured peace to the nation by his valour, he proceeded to adorn it by his laws and institutions, although, I believe, the new names of the magistrates were adopted from his neighbours, more from a principle of vain ambition than from any real utility; for in former ages, except the thane, that is the lord lieutenant of the county, or the sheriff, or lord justice, there were no other titles of honour higher than a knight, which practice, I understand, is still adhered to by the Danes. But now there are no bounds to new titles of honour, although, excepting the empty sound of the title, there can be no other possible use for the name. Malcolm, after having finished his wars, reigned many years with great glory, but in his old age, he sullied by avarice, the splendour of his earlier life. This vice, incident to old men, increased with his years, and chiefly arose from that indigence, which is always a companion of inconsiderate bounty. He therefore endeavoured to resume unjustly the grants which he had rashly made to his nobility, and so harassed the richer classes by fines, that he persecuted some to death, and reduced

others to beggary; by which means, present suffering, perhaps sometimes just, effaced all sense of former favour, and although the injury reached only a few, yet the terror spreading among many, all the relations of those who suffered, bent their thoughts upon avenging the death and robbery of their friends, and securing their own safety. At length, having corrupted the king's domestics, at Glammis, in Angus, a few conspirators were admitted into his apartment by night, and put him to death. When the crime was perpetrated, the servants, together with the parricides, mounted their horses, which were standing ready equipped, but getting bewildered among the snow, that had fallen so deeply as to cover every track of the road, they arrived at a loch, in the neighbourhood of Forfar, which endeavouring to pass, the ice, not being capable of sustaining the weight, sunk beneath them, and they were all drowned. The lake then freezing over them, concealed their bodies for a time, till upon the thaw they were discovered, and being dragged out, were hung up on gibbets by the way side, as an example to the living, and a mark of infamy upon the dead.* This is the more current account of

* Malcolm II. In the Gaelic Duan he is said to have had a variegated reign of thirty years, and from the ancient chronicles he obtained the epithet of *victoriosissimus*. The Ulster Annals, under the year 1005, mention a battle between the Scots and Saxons, in which the Scots were defeated. Was this the first engagement with the Danes?

It would be strange if there were no circumstances to confirm this title, as all Malcolm's victories are said to have been obtained in Scotland. Tradition and remains, however, tend to support the accounts of the battle of Mortlac. The minister, in his account of the parish, enumerates the following. 1. There still remain the vestiges of an intrenchment on the summit of the little conval-hill, which is called by the people, the Danish camp. 2. There are a number of tumuli. 3. There is still a huge stone, said to have been placed over the grave of a Danish chief. 4. A rudely sculptured stone, still standing on the Glebe. 5. Human bones, broken swords, and pieces of armour have been dug up, and in ploughing the Glebe, about 50 years ago, a chain of gold was turned up, which looked like one of the chief's. 6. Several skulls were built into the wall of the church, which, according to the custom of the age, was soon after erected on its site. Stat. Acct. vol. xvii. p. 444. Fordun mentions the establishment of this church, lib. iv. cap. 40, and a bull of Pope Adrian, to Edward, bishop of Aberdeen, 1159, confirms to the bishop "*Villam et monasteriam de Murtlach, cum quinque ecclesiis et terris eisdem pertinentibus.*"

Malcolm's end. Some relate that he fell into an ambush laid for him by the adherents of the former kings, Grim and Constantine, and was slain after a bloody engagement. Others, that he was killed by the relations of a noble virgin whom he had forced, but all agree that he perished by a violent death. Malcolm reigned upwards of thirty years, in such a manner, that had it not been for the avarice of his old age, he would have been numbered among the most excellent of princes. The year in which he died was remarkable for the flooding of the rains in winter, and the inundations of the sea in spring. Likewise, there was an intense frost, accompanied with snow, a few days after the summer solstice, which entirely destroyed the crops, and was followed by a grievous famine.

There is in the neighbourhood of Panbride, an ancient intrenchment, which though it were originally a part of the Roman camp at Kaerbuddo, is called by the people, *Norway Dykes*. Near Camus Cross, a plough laid open a sepulchre, which was enclosed with four stones. Here a huge skeleton was dug up, which was supposed to have been the body of Camus; he appears to have received the mortal stroke upon his head, as a part of the skull was cut away. The names Camuston, Camuston-den, also occur in the neighbourhood, and tradition connects all these notices with the reign of Malcolm II. "Sueno tried to conquer Scotland," says an impartial Frenchman, "his generals sustained several combats, wherein they were sometimes the vanquishers, sometimes the vanquished, but the intrepidity of Malcolm, obliged Sueno, at length, to come to a convention." Lacombe, *Ab. Chron. de l' Histoire du Nord*. tom. i. p. 74.

The Chronicle of Melrose, and the Chron. Elegiacum, say that Malcolm died quietly at Glammis.

Pinkerton says, Malcolm II. is only known in English history, by the war of Carrum, now Carham, near Werk castle, between him and Uchtred, earl of Northumberland, a title succeeding the regal, and with regal powers, in which he was assisted by Eugenius Calvus, or Owen the Bald, Kinglet [*Kingie*, is the proper Scoto-Gothic Diminutive] of Lothian.—According to Icelandic sages, Sigurd, earl of Orkney, married the daughter of Malcolm, and by her had five sons, of whom Thorfin, became afterwards celebrated as earl of Orkney. This Sigurd was slain in the famous battle of Clontarf, near Dublin, 3d April, 1014, fighting against Brian Borowe, king of Dublin, an event which gave rise to the celebrated Icelandic poem, so finely translated by Gray, *The Fatal Sisters*.

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK VII.

1. I have shown in the former book, the keen pertinacity with which Kenneth, and his son Malcolm endeavoured to fix the hereditary succession to the throne, with what success will appear in the sequel. This, however, is certain, neither the public benefit promised to the kingdom, nor the hopes of private advantage held out to the king, were ever realized by the new law. The utility which would arise to the public, from establishing the succession, was ostentatiously displayed—it would prevent, it was alleged, seditions, murders, and intrigues, among the royal relatives, ambition among the nobles, and the other mischiefs which usually sprang from these sources. On the contrary, in inquiring into the causes of public misfortune, and comparing ancient with modern times, it appears to me, that all those evils which we wished to avoid by the new law, have not only not been extinguished by the abrogation of the old, but have been increased by the enactment of the new. For, not to mention the plots of their relations against the reigning kings, nor the dark suspicions of the reigning kings against their relations, both of whom nature and law ought to have rendered most dear to each other—all which will appear afterwards in the course of the history—the collected disasters of former ages appear light and tolerable, compared with the calamities which followed the death of Alexander III. I pass over, also, the fact, that this law weakens the authority of the public council, without which, no legitimate government can exist; that by it we willingly create those evils, which all other legislators particularly deprecate;

we constitute those as our kings, over whom other governors must be appointed, and commit the power over the whole people, to such as have no power over themselves; we require those who reluctantly obey excellent and experienced princes, to submit to any shadow of a king, and inflict upon ourselves, those punishments with which God threatens his despisers, that we be subject to children, boys or girls, whom every law of nature and nations declare ought to be in subjection to others. As to the private advantage which the kings seek to derive from this law, by rendering their family and name perpetual, how vain and fallacious such an expectation is, not only ancient example, but even nature itself might teach them, if they would reflect by how many laws and rewards, the Romans endeavoured to preserve the illustrious names of their families, of whom not a vestige now remains on the face of the whole world, which they had conquered. And, I think, this happens deservedly to those who strive against the nature of things, and endeavour to give to that which is naturally weak, fluctuating, and obnoxious to every accident, an eternity, which they neither have themselves, nor can expect to have, and endeavour to attain their object by these means, which are evidently most opposed to it. For what is less likely to be eternal than tyranny? Yet this new law prepares a step to it. But a tyrant is as a mark set up for the universal hatred of mankind, which cannot stand long, and he, when he falls, involves along with him all his family in his ruin. God sometimes seems to punish this foolish attempt of man gently, and sometimes to expose it to public scorn, as an attempt to rival his prerogative, of which procedure of the divine will, I do not know whether it be possible to produce a stronger, or more pertinent example, than that of which we at present treat. For Malcolm, who laboured so strenuously, that the law enacted by his father, almost by force, for substituting the children of the king in the room of their deceased father, should be confirmed by the universal suffrage of the people, left no male descendant. He had, however, two daughters, one named Beatrix, whom he gave in marriage to Crinus, a nobleman, thane of the western isles, and chief of the thanes, who was in

that age, called the abthane,* the other named Doaca, he married to the thane of Angus, whence was born Macbeth, or Mached, of whom I shall speak afterwards.

LXXXIV. DUNCAN I.

II. Malcolm being slain, as has been related, his grandson, Duncan, by his daughter Beatrix, succeeded him, a prince of amiable manners, but more indulgent to his relations than became a king. He was of a gentle disposition, and gave early indications of his great popularity; for, in the most difficult times, when he had been appointed, by his grandfather, governor of Cumberland, and by reason of the Danish troops spread every where, he could not obtain access to the king of England, to take the legal oaths, yet he faithfully supported the English cause, until the whole of that kingdom being subdued, Canute undertook an expedition against him, and then, at last he swore fealty to the Danes, upon the same conditions as he had formerly done homage to the English. He was also popular in this—that he administered justice with the greatest equity, and every year visited his provinces to hear the complaints of the poor, and, as far as he could prevent it, suffered

* Abthane. This title, which is said to have been the same as lord high steward, is found in Fordun, who styles the son-in-law of Malcolm II. Crynyn Abthamus de Dul ac insularum senescallus, and adds, de quo in quibusdam annalibus, vitio scriptoris, reperitur Crynyn Abbas de Dul; sed verius scripsisset Abthamus de Dul. Lib. iv. cap. 43. The Register of St. Andrews, has Abbas, and the Chronicon Elegiacum, as preserved in the original of the Chronicle of Melrose, in the Cottonian library, has also Abbas. As the abthane is a title which is not met with elsewhere in Scottish history, it seems the most probable solution of the difficulty, to allow that Fordun has here misled Buchanan, and, that in fact, Crinan was an abbot, as it was not till the council of Rheims, 1148, that monks were forbidden to marry, and the Scottish clergy stood out against their decree, for nearly a century. It is well known that the churchmen in that age, as they possessed almost all the learning, so they engrossed nearly all the civil, and many of the military posts, not only in Scotland, but throughout Europe. The Annals of Ulster, at 1045, mention "a battle between the Scots themselves, where fell Cronan, abbot of Duncaillon, who is supposed to have been the same Crinan, who had survived his son, and had fallen in some attempt to revenge his death. Fordun is unfortunately interpolated, and the later monks, through whose hands the MSS. came, considered marriage in a priest, a deadly sin.

none of them to be oppressed by the violence of the powerful. But as these virtues procured for him the affection of the good, so they weakened his authority among the lovers of turbulence; and his clemency towards the peaceable, increased the audacity of the wicked.

III. A disposition to despise the king's authority, first displayed itself in Lochaber, in opposition to Bancho, the thane of that county, a strict distributor of justice, whose severity in punishing being insupportable to some offenders, they entered into a conspiracy against him, and having plundered his estate, they drove him away wounded and half dead. As soon as the state of his wounds enabled him to endure the journey, he laid his complaint before the king, who sent a public officer to bring the criminals to justice; but he, after suffering every species of indignity, was put to death, so much security did the lenity of this good prince, which they denominated indolence, give to these miscreants. The chief of the faction, who committed this outrage, Macdual, despairing of pardon, prepared openly for war. He called to his assistance the Islanders, always prepared for disturbance, and allured the most daring of the Irish, by the hopes of plunder, whom he taught to be under no dread of punishment from a soft and indolent king, fitter to reign over monks than over brave men, but to indulge the highest expectations; for it could not be doubted, he added, but that the Scots, fettered as they had been by a long peace under the last king, would at once, upon the signal being given for war, vindicate their ancient liberty. These exhortations were enforced by some success at the beginning, which increased the courage of his followers. One Malcolm, chosen from among the principal of the nobles, was sent by the king with a body of troops immediately against the rebels, but his army being defeated, he was himself taken and beheaded.

IV. The king, much distressed at this disaster, having called a council, consulted with them about repairing it. When the rest hesitated about delivering their opinions, Macbeth, the king's maternal cousin, attributed the blame of the miscarriage to the late indolent inaction which had destroyed the military habits of the people; but if the command were given

to him, along with Bancho, who was acquainted with the country, he promised, in a short time, to restore tranquillity. Macbeth was a man of a penetrating genius, a high spirit, unbounded ambition, and, if he had possessed moderation, was worthy of any command however great; but in punishing crimes he exercised a severity, which, exceeding the bounds of the laws, appeared apt to degenerate into cruelty. When the chief command of the army was conferred upon this chieftain, many of the insurgents were so terrified, that, laying aside all the hopes which they had conceived from the indolence of the king, they fled in various directions in search of lurking places. The Islanders and Irish, however, having their flight cut off, and being reduced to the utmost desperation, died almost to a man, bravely fighting. Macdual, with a few followers, shut up in a neighbouring tower, and deprived of all hope of pardon, escaped by voluntary death from the insults of his enemies. Macbeth, not content with this punishment, cut off his head, which he sent to the king, at Perth, and exhibited his body as a spectacle in a conspicuous place. Those of the Islanders whom he took, he caused to be hanged.

v. This domestic sedition being quelled, a new Danish invasion produced a far greater degree of alarm. Sueno, the most powerful king of the Danes, dying, left three kingdoms to his three sons, England to Harold, Norway to Sueno, and Denmark to Canute. On the death of Harold, which happened shortly after, Canute succeeded to the kingdom of England, and Sueno, king of Norway, emulous of his brother's fame, arrived in Fife with a great fleet. On the report of his arrival, Macbeth was sent to raise an army, Bancho being left in military command with the king, who, roused as it were from an ignoble sleep, was forced at last to march against the enemy. The combatants encountered each other near Culross, and maintained the battle with such obstinacy, that the one party was almost rendered incapable for flight, and the other equally unable to pursue. The Scots, who appeared to themselves to have been worsted, rather by the disadvantages of the ground, than the bravery of the enemy, retreated to Perth, and remained there watching his motions. Sueno, who thought that by a little exertion, Scotland in a short time would be

wholly in his power, pushed on to Perth, to besiege Duncan, having sent round his fleet by the river Tay, to meet him at that place. Duncan, although Macbeth was approaching at no great distance with fresh re-enforcements, and was, from the aspect of affairs, confident of success, yet, yielding to Bancho, who advised that he should take advantage of stratagem, sent messengers, one to Macbeth, to desire him to halt, and one to Sueno, to propose a surrender. The king of the Scots demanded, that, upon the city being delivered up, he should be allowed to retire with his army in safety. Sueno, who thought the proposal proceeded from despair, would listen to nothing but unconditional surrender.

VI. Other messengers were, therefore, sent with ample powers, who were instructed to protract the time in writing out the conditions; and who, in order to make a greater show of kindness, promised that the king, while the articles of peace were arranging, would send into the Norwegian camp, a sufficient supply of those necessaries of which he understood they were in want; which gift was agreeable, not so much on account of the good will of the Scots, or the want of the Norwegians, as that they thought it a sign that the fierce spirits of the former were humbled and broken. A great quantity of bread was therefore sent, together with wine and ale, into which had been infused the juice of a poisonous herb, that grows abundantly in Scotland, commonly called sleepy nightshade. The stem is more than two feet in height, and spreads into branches at the upper part; the leaves are somewhat broad, and pointed at the extremity, of a dull green colour: the berries, which are pretty large, and black when ripe, grow out from the stalk, under the root of the leaves; the taste of the juice is sweet, and almost insipid; the seed is small like the grains of a fig; the qualities of the berry, the root, but especially the seed, are somniferous, and if taken in large quantities, produce madness. All the provisions being infected with this herb, those who carried them to the enemies' camp, partook liberally of them, in order to prevent any suspicion of deceit, inviting the Danes to swallow copious draughts; and Sueno, himself, took a hearty "cup o' kindness," after the custom of his country.

VII. Duncan, who knew what the consequence would be when the strength of the potion, together with sleep, should begin to operate, had already received Macbeth silently, with his army, into the city, at a gate opposite the side where the enemy lay; and on being informed, by his spies, that the Danes were stretched, completely overpowered by wine and sleep, he sent Bancho, who was well acquainted with the road and the passes of the enemies' camp, forward with the greater part of the army, placing the rest in ambush. On entering the camp, and raising a loud shout, he found every thing in a state of greater carelessness and confusion than he had imagined. A few, roused by the noise, when they began to run about hurriedly like madmen, were slain by the first who met them. To the rest, death was almost, in general, but a continuation of their sleep. The king, who was dead drunk, was seized by a few who were not quite so much intoxicated, and being not only deprived of strength, but of sensation, was thrown like a burden over a baggage horse, and carried to the fleet. But there the case was as bad as in the camp, for almost all the sailors were killed on shore, and it was with the utmost difficulty that as many could be collected as could manage one vessel. By their means, however, the king escaped home to his own country. The rest of the ships, in attempting to put to sea, were dashed against each other, by a furious tempest, and broken, and sunk, at the mouth of the Tay, where the sand collecting, together with other wreck in the river, has formed a dangerous bank for sailors, now known by the name of Drumlaw sands. While the Scots were rejoicing over this victory obtained without bloodshed, intelligence was brought them that a Danish fleet had arrived at Kinghorn, sent by Canute, to the assistance of Sueno, the sailors from which, having landed, spoiled Fife without resistance. Bancho was, upon this, immediately despatched against them with a body of men, and having attacked the most advanced, he defeated them with great slaughter. These consisted almost wholly of the chief men of the expedition, the rest were easily driven back to their ships. Bancho is reputed to have sold the right of sepulture for the slain, for a large sum, and their tombs are said to be yet seen in the island of Æmona [Inch-

colm.] The Danes having so often, and with such wretched success, sent expeditions to Scotland, are reported to have taken a solemn oath, that they would never again return thither as enemies.

VIII. After this tide of success, both at home and abroad, when peace was re-established throughout the whole of Scotland, Macbeth, who had always despised the inactivity of his cousin, cherished secretly the hope of seizing the throne, in which he is said to have been confirmed by a dream. On a certain night, when he was far distant from the king, three women appeared to him of more than human stature, of whom one hailed him thane of Angus, another, thane of Moray, and the third saluted him king. His ambition and hope being strongly excited by this vision, he revolved in his mind every way by which he might obtain the kingdom, when a justifiable occasion, as he thought, presented itself.—Duncan had two sons, by the daughter of Sibard, governor of Northumberland, Malcolm Canmore [great head,] and Donald Bane [white.] Of these he made Malcolm, while yet a boy, governor of Cumberland. This appointment highly incensed Macbeth, who thought it an obstacle thrown in the way of his ambition, which—now that he had obtained the two first dignities promised by his nocturnal visitors—might retard, if not altogether prevent, his arriving at the third, as the command of Cumberland was always considered the next step to the crown. His mind, already sufficiently ardent of itself, was daily excited by the importunities of his wife, who was the confidant of all his designs. Wherefore, having consulted with his most intimate friends, among whom was Bancho, and having found a convenient opportunity, he waylaid the king at Inverness, and killed him, in the seventh year of his reign; then, collecting a band together, he proceeded to Scoon, where, trusting to the favour of the people, he proclaimed himself king. The children of Duncan, amazed at this sudden misfortune, their father slain, and the author of the murder upon his throne, surrounded on every side by the snares of the tyrant, who sought, by their death, to confirm the kingdom to himself, for some time endeavoured to save themselves by flight, and shifting frequently the places of their concealment. But when they saw

they could be no where safe, if within the reach of his power, and having no hope of mercy from a man of so barbarous a disposition, they fled in different directions, Malcolm into Cumberland, and Donald to his relations in the Æbudæ.

LXXXV. MACBETH.

ix. Macbeth, in order to establish himself on the throne he had so iniquitously acquired, won the favour of the nobles by large gifts. As he was secure of the king's children, on account of their age, and of the neighbouring kings, on account of their mutual animosities, having gained the more powerful, he determined to procure the affection of the people by his equity, and retain it by his strict administration of justice. Wherefore, he determined to punish the robbers, who had grown insolent through the lenity of Duncan. But when he saw that this could not be effected without raising a great commotion, he contrived, by men selected for the purpose, to scatter the seeds of dissension among them, and induce them to challenge each other to decide their disputes by battle, in small parties of equal numbers, in places widely distant, and upon the same day. On which day, when they assembled according to appointment, they were all seized by trusty officers, whom the king had stationed for apprehending them, and their execution struck terror into the rest. He, likewise, put to death the thanes of Caithness, Ross, Sutherland, and Nairn, together with some other powerful chieftains, by whose feuds the people were terribly harassed. He, afterwards, went to the Æbudæ, where he executed severe justice, and returning thence, he summoned repeatedly Macgill, or Macgild, the most powerful chief of Galloway, to stand trial. But he—Macgill—more afraid of being charged with having belonged to the party of Malcolm, than dreading any crime of which he could have been accused—refused to obey; on which, Macbeth sent some detachments against him, who, having vanquished him in battle, put him to death. By these means, perfect tranquillity being restored, he applied himself to frame laws, an object which had been much neglected by the preceding kings, and enacted very many and very useful statutes, which now, to the great detriment of the public, are

allowed to remain unnoticed, and almost unknown. Thus, for ten years, he so governed the kingdom, that, if his obtaining it by violence were forgotten, he would be esteemed inferior to none of the kings who preceded him.

x. But when he had strengthened himself by so many safeguards, and thus gained the favour of the people; the murder of the king—as is very credible—haunting his imagination, and distracting his mind, occasioned his converting the government, which he had obtained by perfidy, into a cruel tyranny. He first wreaked his unbounded rage on Bancho, his accomplice in the treason, instigated, as is reported, by the prophecy of some witches, who predicted that Bancho's posterity would enjoy the kingdom. Wherefore, fearing that so powerful and active a chief, who had already dipt his hands in royal blood, might imitate the example which he himself had set, he familiarly invited him, along with his son, to an entertainment, and caused him to be assassinated on his return, in such a manner, as if he had been accidentally killed in a sudden affray. Fleanchus, his son, being unknown, escaped in the dark, but, informed by his friends that his father had been killed by the treachery of the king, and that his own life was sought after, fled secretly to Wales. This murder, so cruelly and perfidiously committed, inspired the nobles with such dread, each for his own safety, that they all departed to their houses, few of them, and they but rarely, ever venturing to court; so that the cruelty of the king, being openly exercised upon some, and secretly suspected by all, mutual terror produced mutual hatred between him and his nobles, and then, when concealment became impossible, he began to exhibit an undisguised tyranny. He publicly executed the most powerful chieftains, upon the most frivolous pretences, and frequently upon fictitious accusations; and with the produce of their confiscations, he supported a band of ruffians, under the name of Royal Guards.

xi. The king, however, not yet thinking his life sufficiently protected, commenced building a castle upon Dunsinnan hill, whence there is an extensive prospect upon every side; and when the building proceeded but slowly, on account of the difficulty of the carriage of the materials, he commanded all

the thanes, throughout the whole kingdom, to provide by turns for the work labourers and carriages, and ordered that they should themselves superintend the operations, as inspectors. Macduff, thane of Fife, was then exceedingly powerful, but not daring to trust his life in the king's hands, frequently sent workmen thither, and, likewise, several of his most intimate friends to urge their labour. The king, either desirous to see how the work proceeded, as he pretended, or, as Macduff feared, to apprehend him, came to view the building, when, by chance, a yoke of oxen, unequal to the task, could not drag a load over a steep ascent. The king eagerly seized the occasion to vent his indignation, threatening that he would subdue the contumacious spirit of the thane, which was already well known to him, and place the yoke on his own neck, which speech being reported to Macduff, he commended his family to his wife, and, without delay, passed over to Lothian, in a little vessel hastily rigged out for the occasion, and thence proceeded to England. Macbeth, having heard of his intended flight, proceeded immediately with a strong force to Fife, if possible to prevent him. At his arrival, he was immediately admitted into Macduff's castle, but not finding the thane, he wreaked his vengeance upon his wife, and his children who remained. He confiscated also his estate, proclaimed himself a rebel, and threatened to inflict a severe punishment on any one who dared to hold any communication with him. He likewise behaved with great cruelty towards the rest of the rich and the powerful, without distinction; and, in contempt of his nobility, administered the internal affairs of the kingdom, by the advice of his household, without ever deigning to consult them.

XII. In the meantime, Macduff, having arrived in England, found Malcolm living in a royal style, at the court of king Edward; for Edward having been recalled from exile to the throne, when the power of the Danes was broken in England, was for many reasons interested in behalf of Malcolm, who had been presented to him by his maternal grandfather, Sibard, either because his father and grandfather, when they commanded in Cumberland, were always attached to his ancestors, or, because a similarity of circumstances, and a recol-

lection of their mutual dangers, had produced a mutual friendship, for both kings had been driven into exile unjustly, by tyrants, or, because the misfortunes of kings easily interest the minds of the greatest strangers. The thane, therefore, as soon as he could find a proper opportunity, addressed Malcolm in a long speech, in which he lamented the unhappy necessity of his flight, represented the cruelty of Macbeth towards all ranks, and the universal hatred of all ranks towards him, and strongly urged Malcolm to attempt the recovery of his paternal throne, especially, as he could not without the greatest guilt, leave the impious murder of his father unpunished, neglect the miseries of a people committed to him by God himself, or turn a deaf ear to the just petitions of his friends. Besides, he might rely on the assistance of his ally, the excellent king Edward, and on the affections of the people, who hated the tyrant, nor would the favour of the Deity, to aid a just cause against the wicked, be withheld. In fine, nothing would be wanting, if he were not wanting to himself. Malcolm, who had often before been solicited to return, by spies, sent from Macbeth to draw him into a snare, determined, before he should commit himself to fortune in so great an affair, to prove the fidelity of Macduff. He therefore replied, I am not indeed ignorant of what you tell me, but I am afraid that you are wholly unacquainted with me, whom you invite to assume the crown; for the same vices which have destroyed many kings, lust and avarice, exist in me also, and although now hid in a private station, would break forth in the licence of a regal state. Beware then, lest you do not rather invite me to destruction, than to a kingdom. Macduff answered, that licentious desires after variety, might be counteracted by a lawful marriage, and avarice removed, by being placed above the fear of penury. Malcolm rejoined, that he now rather chose to confess to him ingenuously as a friend, than hereafter to be caught in faults, which might prove dangerous to both; that he did not believe in the existence, either of truth or sincerity; that he confided in no man; that he was apt to change his designs with every breath of suspicion, and, that from the inconstancy of his own disposition, he formed his judgment of every other person. On which, Macduff exclaimed, away!

dishonour of thy royal blood and name, more fit to dwell in a desert, than to reign; and was about to retire in anger, when Malcolm taking him by the hand, explained to him the reason of his simulation, that he had so often been deceived by the emissaries of Macbeth, that he dared not rashly trust himself to every body, but with regard to Macduff, his lineage, his manners, his character, and his circumstances, claimed his confidence. Then mutually plighting their faith, they proceeded to consult on the means for accomplishing the destruction of the tyrant. Having, by secret messengers, sent previous information of their design to their friends, they received from king Edward, ten thousand soldiers, under the command of Sibard, Malcolm's maternal grandfather.

XIII. The report of this army's march, excited a great commotion in Scotland, and many daily flocked to the new king. Macbeth, being almost wholly deserted, when in this so sudden defection he saw no better alternative, shut himself up in the castle of Dunsinnan, and sent his friends with money into the *Æbudæ*, and Ireland, to procure soldiers. Malcolm hearing of his intentions, marched directly against him, accompanied, wherever he went, by the acclamations of the people, and their prayers for his success. The soldiers joyfully seized this as an omen of victory, and placing green boughs in their helmets, represented an army rather returning in triumph, than marching to battle. Astonished at this confidence of the enemy, Macbeth immediately fled and the soldiers, deserted by their leader, surrendered to Malcolm. Macduff having followed the tyrant, overtook him, and slew him. Here some of our writers relate a number of fables, more adapted for theatrical representation, or Milesian romance, than history, I therefore omit them. Macbeth reigned seventeen years over Scotland, during the first ten of which. he performed the duty of the best of kings, but in the seven last, he equalled the cruelty of the most barbarous tyrants.

LXXXVI. MALCOLM III. SURNAMED CANMORE.

XIV. Malcolm having thus recovered his paternal kingdom, was proclaimed king at Scoon, on the fifth day of April, A.D

1057. Immediately on entering upon the government, he summoned a convention at Forfar, in which his first act was to restore their estates to the children of those, whose fathers Macbeth had murdered. By some he is thought to have introduced new and foreign titles of distinction, by which the degrees of honour are discriminated, adopted from our neighbours, but not less barbarous than those formerly in use—such as dukes, marquisses, earls, barons, ridaros, or knights. Macduff, thane of Fife, was the first who was created an earl, but many others were honoured with new titles, according to their various degrees of merit. Some allege, that at this time noblemen began to be surnamed from their lands, which I think is a mistake, for this custom is not even now introduced among the ancient Scots, and at that time the whole of Scotland used both their ancient language and customs. Instead of a surname, they, after the manner of the Greeks, subjoined the name of their father to their own proper name, or affixed an appellation from some event, or from some feature of the body or mind. And, that the same custom was prevalent among the French, is evident from the royal surnames of *le Gros*, the fat, *le Chauve*, the bald, and *le Beque*, the stammerer; as likewise from the surnames of many noble English families, especially those, who about that time, having followed William from Normandy, settled in England; while the custom of taking surnames from their lands, which is adopted by the other French noblemen, seems to have been of late origin, as appears from Froissart, an author of no mean authority. As a reward for his eminent services, Macduff had three especial privileges granted him—That his posterity should place the king in the chair of state, at the coronation—that they should command the van of the royal armies; and, that they should be pardoned for committing the unpremeditated murder of a gentleman, upon paying twenty-four marks of silver, and twelve for the death of a common person, which last remained a law till the days of our fathers, which was as long as any of that family remained.

xv. While these transactions were going forward at Forfar, those who remained of the faction of Macbeth, took his son Luthlac, or the fool, a surname bestowed on him on account

of his stupidity, and carrying him to Scoon, proclaimed him king. Malcolm, on hearing of this transaction, pursued him, and having overtaken him in Strathbogie, slew him, in the sixth month after he had assumed the name of king; yet, out of respect to their royal descent, he ordered, after his death, both his body, and that of his father, to be interred in the royal sepulchres in Iona. From that time, the most profound peace reigned throughout the country, till at the end of four years, a strong band of robbers, who lurked in the forest of Cocksburn, began to infest the counties of Lothian and March, and to produce much damage to the farmers. They were subdued, after considerable trouble, by Patrick Dunbar, who lost in the undertaking forty of his own men. Of the robbers, six hundred perished in the attack, and forty, who were taken prisoners, were hanged. For this service, Patrick was created first earl of March.* The king being now so firmly established on the throne, that no open violence could hurt him, a secret conspiracy was formed against his life. The whole plot having been revealed to him, he invited to court the chief of the conspirators, who suspected nothing, and, having engaged him in a familiar conversation, led him to a secret valley, where, having ordered his servants to withdraw, he remained with him alone. After upbraiding him with the favours he had formerly conferred upon him, and confronting him with a detail of the plot which he had formed against him, he added, now we are both armed, attack me if you dare, and obtain that prize by your valour, which you seek by treachery. Astonished at this sudden discovery, the conspirator threw himself on the ground as a suppliant, and obtained his pardon from a king, who was not less merciful than brave. Matthew Paris has preserved the account of this transaction.

xvi. In the meantime, Edgar, who was next heir to the English throne, after Edward, being driven upon the Scottish

* This account of the origin of the earl of Dunbar, from Boece, is fictitious. The first Patrick, earl of Dunbar, was Gospatrick, a discontented Northumbrian nobleman, who having sought an asylum in Scotland, obtained a grant of lands in the eastern marches, and his descendants were sometimes styled earls of March, from the district, and sometimes earls of Dunbar, from their chief place of residence.

coast by contrary winds, landed, with his whole family. That what follows, respecting this personage, may be the more easily understood, I shall advert to a few previous circumstances. Edmond, the king of England,* being treacherously slain by his subjects, Canute, the Dane, who reigned over part of that division of the island, immediately seized upon the whole. At first, he treated Edward and Edmond, the sons of the late king, with great distinction, but afterward, instigated by ambition, and desirous of securing the kingdom to his own children by their death, he sent them to Valgar, governor of Sweden, in order to have them privately put to death. But Valgar, having learned the noble descent of the youths, respecting their age and their innocence, and, likewise, pitying their misfortune, deceived Canute, by pretending he had murdered them, and sent them to Hungary, to king Solomon. After being there royally educated, Edward displayed so amiable a disposition, that the king chose him, in preference to any of the young nobility, as an husband for his daughter Agatha. From this marriage sprung Edgar, Margaret, and Christian. In the meantime, Canute dying, Hardicanute succeeded him, who being killed, Edward—a brother of Edmond the late king—with his other brother Alfred, were recalled from Normandy, where they were then in exile. Earl Godwin, a

* This passage is somewhat obscure, from Buchanan having omitted to mention that Ethelred, the father of Edmond, had two families by two wives. By his first queen, Elgiva, he had Edmond, after which he was driven from his kingdom by Sueno, and took refuge in Normandy, where, Elgiva being dead, he married Emma, daughter to Richard, duke of Normandy, by whom he had two sons, Edward and Alfred; these he left with their grandfather, while he himself returned to England, and recovered his kingdom. After reigning some few turbulent years, he was killed in battle, and Edmond, his eldest son by the first marriage, as mentioned in the text, succeeded. Edmond, was killed by his subjects, leaving two infant sons, named Edward and Edmond who were, by order of Canute, conveyed out of the kingdom, and at last found refuge in Hungary, where Edmond died, and Edward was married; but the genealogy of the lady, copied by Buchanan from the English historians, is doubtful. Hailes' Ann. vol. i. p. 14. In the meantime Edward, named the Confessor, son of the second marriage, succeeded to the English throne, and it was he who recalled his nephew Edward with his family, Edgar, Margaret, and Christian. Edward only lived to see his native land; his children are those whose fortune Buchanan is describing.

powerful English nobleman, married to a daughter of Canute's having been sent to conduct them, desirous of transferring the kingdom to his own family, caused Alfred to be poisoned. Edward, however, preserved by the providence of God, rather than by any human precautions, escaped, and reigned afterwards most piously in England. Having no children, this monarch brought back his relations from Hungary, in order to their undertaking the government, and wished immediately upon the return of Edgar, to resign the kingdom to him; but his moderation equalling the king's piety, he refused to accept the throne during his lifetime.

XVII. After the death of Edward, Harold, earl Godwin's son, usurped the throne, treating, however, Agatha, the Hungarian, and her children with great kindness. But he, being afterward overthrown by William, the Norman, Edgar, with his mother and sisters, in order to avoid the cruelty of the conqueror, fled, and, when attempting to return to Hungary, were forced, by a violent tempest, to land in Scotland. He was there hospitably received by Malcolm, who contracted an affinity with him, by marrying his sister Margaret. William, who then reigned in England, and exercised the greatest cruelty on the slightest occasions, upon the noble families of English, or Danish extraction, when he was informed of these transactions in Scotland, fearing that some new storm might arise thence, sent an ambassador, who demanded, that Edgar should be delivered up to him, and threatened war in case of a refusal. Malcolm, who considered it as both faithless and cruel, to surrender his suppliant, guest, and relation, a man against whom even his enemies could allege no crime, into the hands of his most cruel enemy, in order to be put to death, determined rather to endure every extremity, than comply. He therefore, not only retained Edgar, but likewise received a great number of his adherents, who were banished, and gave them estates, whose posterity afterward increased into many great and opulent families.

XVIII. * War having arisen on these accounts, between the

* None of the actions narrated in this chapter, before that of Robert, are noticed by any English historian. An expedition of Odo's to the north, is mentioned; but it was to avenge the death of Walcher, the bishop of Durham

Scots and the English, Sibard, king of Northumberland, favouring Edgar, joined his forces with the Scots. The Norman, inflated by his prosperity, and regarding the Scottish war as a thing of little importance, sent Rodger, a nobleman of his own country, into Northumberland, with an army; but he being defeated, and his army dispersed, was at last, slain by his own troops. Richard, earl of Gloucester, was then sent with a greater army, but neither could he achieve much; for he was incessantly harassed by Patrick Dunbar, who kept him constantly engaged in light skirmishes, and prevented him from extending his plundering excursions to any distance. On which, Odo, William's brother, formerly bishop of Bayeux, now created earl of Kent, marched, at the head of a much more powerful body of forces, and committed extensive ravages in Northumberland, defeating those who endeavoured to oppose him. But on his return with an immense booty, he was attacked by Malcolm and Sibard, who recovered the spoil, besides inflicting considerable slaughter, and making many prisoners. This army being recruited, Robert, William's son, was appointed to the command, but neither did he accomplish any thing of importance, except, that having pitched his camp on the banks of the river Tyne, he rather repelled the enemy, than prosecuted the war; and, while he lay there, repaired Newcastle, which had almost gone to decay through age. William, at last tired of a war, more tedious than either necessary or advantageous, and his animosity becoming less violent, turned his thoughts on peace, which was concluded on condition, that Stanmore, a barren rocky heath, as its name signifies, should form the boundaries of the two king-

and Earl of Northumberland, Sir Walcher Simond's son. They mention, however, an irruption of Malcolm's into England, which took place previously, in 1076, in which Malcolm led a numerous army through Cumberland, and defeated the English at Hunderskelde, on the river Derwent, and afterwards penetrated to the eastern parts of Durham, spreading desolation every where, and commanding all the young men and maidens to be driven captive into Scotland; and "so great was the number," says Simeon of Durham, "that for a number of years after, male and female English servants were to be found not only in every Scottish village, but even in every Scottish hovel." Whether this be any of the expeditions mentioned by Buchanan, the very general terms of the narration, and the want of dates, prevent our ascertaining.

doms, on the borders of which, a stone cross was to be erected, with the arms and statues of both the kings engraved upon it, which cross, as long as it remained, was called the king's cross. Malcolm retained Cumberland, on the same conditions on which his ancestors had held it. Edgar was also received into favour by William, who conferred upon him very ample possessions, and he, to remove all suspicion of his ever attempting to disturb the reigning family, never departed from court as long as he lived. Voldiosas, the son of Sibard, too, received back his paternal inheritance, and was, besides, united in affinity to the king, having received in marriage a grandchild of his by his daughter.

xix. External peace was followed by intestine disorders. The men of Galloway and the *Æbudæ*, carried fire and sword into the districts which lay next them, and the inhabitants of Moray having made a league with those of Ross, Caithness, and the neighbouring Islanders, threatened a more destructive war. To repress these disturbances, Walter,* the grandson of Bancho, by his son Fleance, who had been lately received into favour, was sent against the Gallovidians, and Macduff against the other rebels, while the king himself was engaged in collecting a greater number of forces. Walter having slain the leader of the faction to which he was opposed, and reduced his followers to their allegiance, the king, upon his return, as a reward for his eminent service, made him steward of all Scotland, as if grand director of the realm. This officer collected all the royal revenues, and had a jurisdiction equal to that of the sheriffs, and similar to what was formerly possessed by the thanes; but, by the prevalence of the English language, the name steward was in many places substituted for thane; and he who was formerly styled abthane, is now entitled, lord high steward of Scotland, the appellation of thane being only retained in a few places at present. From this Walter, the family of the Stewarts, who have so long reigned over Scotland, derive their origin.

xx. Macduff, in the opposite quarter, when he arrived on the borders of Marr, was offered money by the inhabitants,

* The existence of this Walter is denied; of course with him the genealogy of the royal house of Stuart fails for at least a century.

provided he would not enter their territory, and, intimidated by the number of the enemy, he suspended his operations, under the pretence of arranging the conditions of the bargain, until the king should arrive with more troops. Upon his arrival, having effected a junction at the village of Monymusk, the king, alarmed also at the multitude of his opponents, vowed that he would devote the village where he lay encamped, to St. Andrew, the tutelary saint of Scotland, if he returned victorious from that expedition; and moving thence, he arrived at the Spey, the most rapid of all the Scottish rivers. The enemy, having assembled on the opposite bank a much more numerous army than it was believed possible the country could produce, stood ready to dispute the passage, when the standard bearer hesitating, Malcolm snatched the ensign from him, and gave it to Alexander of Carron, a knight remarkable for courage, whose posterity always, from that time, enjoyed the honour of carrying the royal standard in war. He afterwards had the surname of Scrimiger substituted for Carron, on account of having overcome, by valour alone, an eminent master of the art of fencing, who boasted greatly of his skill, while he was almost entirely ignorant of the science. The king, when about to enter the river, was stopped by the priests, dressed in their canonicals, who, with his permission, passed over to the enemy, and finished the war without any effusion of blood. The nobles surrendered themselves upon the condition only of having their lives spared; those who were the most turbulent, and the authors of the rebellion, were brought to trial, and on conviction, had their estates confiscated, and themselves condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

xxi. Peace being thus, by uncommon exertions, established both at home and abroad, all the king's endeavours were directed towards the reformation of public manners. He lived holily himself, and excited others to temperance and equity, by his example; in which it is believed he was much assisted by the advice and admonitions of his inimitable queen, a woman remarkable for her uncommon piety. She, indeed, omitted no office of kindness towards the poor, or the priests; nor was her mother, Agatha, or her sister, Christian, at all

behind her in any religious duty; and seclusion being then esteemed among the principal institutions of piety, both of these ladies, leaving the tormenting cares of the world, shut themselves up in a convent of nuns. The king, to the four former bishoprics, of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Whitehorn, and Mortlach, when through indolence the ancient discipline had either been relaxed or disused, added Moray and Caithness, procuring for them bishops, who, as the times went, were pious and learned. Luxury, however, even then, diffused itself so extensively over the whole kingdom, not only by means of foreign commerce with the English and other nations, but, likewise, by the numerous exiles who were received and settled throughout the country, that all his attempts to prevent its increase were nearly in vain. The chief difficulty lay with the nobility, whom he endeavoured to bring back to their ancient simplicity of manners, for they having once yielded to the allurements of pleasure, not only grew worse by indulgence, but allowed themselves to be precipitated into the vortex of debauchery, while they endeavoured to disguise the most infamous vices, under the names of gallantry and generosity. When Malcolm perceived the ruin thus threatened, not only to religion, but to military discipline, he first strictly purified his own family, and then enacted severe sumptuary laws, with heavy penalties for their transgression. Although by these means he rather restrained than cured the evil, yet he never desisted, during his whole life, to continue his exertions. He is likewise said, at the entreaty of his wife, to have procured the abolition of that law, of king Eugenius, by which the nobles were entitled to enjoy every new married bride on their estates, the first night after the nuptials; and obtained for the husband, the privilege of redeeming it, by paying half a mark of silver, a fine still called *Mercheta Mulierum*, payable to the lord on the marriage of a tenant's daughter. *

* *Mercheta Mulierum*. The existence of such a law of Eugenius, as that said to have been repealed by Malcolm III. although it once obtained universal belief among the learned; was appealed to by lawyers, both Scottish and foreign; was founded upon by our legislators, and argued from by our law writers, is now generally exploded. The term *Mercheta Mulierum* had two several significations: 1st, It implied a fine paid to the lord by a vassal or villain,

XXII. While Malcolm was thus employed in reforming public morals, William, king of England, died, and was succeeded by his son, William Rufus. Between two kings of such dissimilar dispositions, peace could not long be maintained. The king of the Scots, then chiefly engaged in supporting the interests of a declining church, had built, at a great expense, a magnificent cathedral at Durham, in England, and another at Dunfermline, in Scotland; and, besides, he had transferred the abbot of the monks of Durham, to the episcopal see at St. Andrews, while king Rufus, employed in forming forests and hunting parks, levelled monasteries and villages to increase their extent; and banished Anselm, a Norman, then archbishop of Canterbury, for daring to reprove him. Seeking an occasion of war with the Scots, he surprised the castle of Alnwick,* and put the garrison to death; and Malcolm, after

when his unmarried daughter chanced to be debauched. 2d, When a vassal or villain obtained his lord's permission to give away his daughter in marriage, he paid a composition or acknowledgment; and when he gave her away without obtaining such permission he paid a fine, and this composition or fine was termed *Mercheta*. The probable reason of the custom appears to have been this; persons of low rank residing on an estate, were generally either *ascripti glebæ*, attached to the ground, or subjected to some similar species of servitude. On that estate they were bound to reside, and perform certain services to the lord. As women necessarily follow the residence of their husbands, the consequence was, that when a woman of that rank married a stranger, the lord was deprived of part of his live stock. He would not submit to this loss without requiring an indemnification; and as the villains were grievously under the power of their lords, it would be often exorbitant and oppressive. In process of time the lord would discover, that as the young women of his estate were exported, the young men of his estate would import others, so that upon the whole no great prejudice could arise from extra territorial marriages. Hence the indemnification would be converted into a smaller pecuniary composition, acknowledging the old usage, and the right of the master, and, which a change of circumstances would occasion, being included in the rent roll. It is therefore likely that the law of Malcolm, or some regulation adopted in his reign, with regard to the proportioning and payment of this fine, is what is here referred to. Vide Dissertation on the Law of Evenus, and the *Mercheta Mulierum*. Hailes' Annals, App. No. 3. vol. i.

* In an old chronicle of Alnwick abbey, of which a transcript is preserved in the British museum, among the Harleian MSS. Malcolm, king of Scotland, is said to have assisted in laying the foundation of the new Cathedral in Dur-

having in vain demanded restitution, laid siege to the place with a large army. The besieged being reduced to extremity, demanded a parley, to treat for a surrender, and desired, that the king in person would come to receive the keys, which were offered on the point of a spear. Malcolm, having incautiously advanced for this purpose, whilst in the act of accepting them, was thrust through the eye with that weapon, by the soldier who presented them, and killed; and Edward, his son, who, inflamed with the desire of avenging his father's death, and regardless of his own safety, sprung rashly forward, received a severe wound, of which he also almost instantly expired. The Scots, disheartened by this double death of their two kings, having raised the siege, returned home, and Margaret, overwhelmed with grief at the loss of both her husband and her son, did not long survive the calamity. The bodies of the kings were brought from Tynemouth, which is a monastery at the mouth of the Tyne, where they had been at first buried, and afterwards deposited in the abbey of Dunfermline. Malcolm, after having reigned thirty-six years, transmitted to

ham, along with William the Bishop, and Turgot the Prior. A circumstantial account of the manner in which Malcolm met his death, is also given. It coincides with Buchanan. Dr. Percy, who transmitted the extract to Lord Hailes, is satisfied as to the authenticity of the record. His lordship doubts its age. Simeon of Durham mentions, that it was on his way to Gloucester, to meet the English king, William Rufus, that Malcolm assisted in laying the foundation of Durham Cathedral; this honour seems to have been all the great expense which he contributed to the building. Lord Hailes observes, "it is remarkable, that zealous as Malcolm and his queen were for religion, they made few donations to the church." An endowment of the Benedictines at Dunfermline, and an inconsiderable grant of land to the Culdees, were all the traces of their liberality to the ecclesiastics, which his lordship has discovered; but Sir David was a judge of session, and allows no alienation of property, without a production of the charters.

The introduction of the feudal laws into Scotland, as a system, has been attributed to Malcolm, but as this is not asserted by Buchanan, it would be superfluous to argue against it at much length here; those who wish to be informed on that point, may consult Hailes' *Ann.* vol. i. pp. 31-4. It is sufficient to satisfy any common inquirer of the improbability of the fact, to know, that Malcolm, who was a brave and active prince, was utterly illiterate. "Although he could not read, he used often to turn over the leaves, and kiss the prayer books, and books of devotion which he had heard his wife say were dear to her." Fordun, lib. v. cap. 23.

posterity, a name stained by no vice, but distinguished by many illustrious virtues. He had six sons by Margaret, of whom, Edward died of his wounds at the siege of Alnwick castle; Edmond, and Ethelred, driven into exile by their uncle Donald, died in England; and the remaining three, Edgar, Alexander, and David, obtained the kingdom in succession; and two daughters, the elder of whom, Matilda, surnamed the good, was married to Henry, king of England; and Mary, the youngest, was married to Eustace, earl of Bologne. Among the prodigies of these times, an inundation of the German ocean is mentioned, so unusual, that it not only overflowed the fields and covered them with sand, but swept away villages, cities, and castles. The thunder-storms, also, were more frequent and terrible than usual, and more persons were killed in Britain by thunderbolts, than were ever recollected to have been struck at any previous period.

LXXXVII. DONALD VII. SURNAMED BANE.

XXIII. Upon the death of Malcolm, Donald Bane, [that is the white,] his brother, who for fear of Macbeth had fled to the Æbudæ, having promised all the islands to Magnus, king of Norway, if he would assist him in obtaining the kingdom, was without difficulty proclaimed king, chiefly by those who falsely pretended that the late king had corrupted the discipline of their ancestors, and who were vexed that the English exiles had received possessions in Scotland. Edgar, in this sudden revolution, alarmed for the safety of his sister's children, who were yet of immature age, caused them to be brought to him, in England. But this affection of the excellent man, did not escape misrepresentation; for Orgar, an Englishman, desirous of ingratiating himself with king William Rufus, accused him of having secretly boasted that he and his kindred were the legitimate heirs of the crown. When the accuser could not bring any proof in support of his charge, the decision was referred to a judicial combat, in which the informer was vanquished by another Englishman, who fought for Edgar, now incapacitated by age and infirmities. All true Scotsmen, who venerated the memory of Malcolm and Margaret, hated Donald, for having by foreign aid, conjoined with his own faction,

usurped the kingdom, and he, by his own rashness in threatening many of the chief nobility who had joined him, because they would not formally take the oath of allegiance, greatly increased that hatred. Wherefore, they invited Duncan, a natural son of Malcolm's, who had long served Rufus with reputation, to return and oppose Donald. On his arrival, numbers deserting to him, Donald took the alarm, and fled to the Æbudæ, six months after he had usurped the kingdom.

LXXXVIII. DUNCAN II.

xxiv. Neither did Duncan reign long; for being a military man, and ignorant of the arts of peace, he governed with an imperiousness inconsistent with the civil polity of the kingdom, and soon incurred the violent hatred of the greater part of the people. Which, when Donald, who was then in exile, and watching all his motions, understood, he bribed Macpender, earl of Mearns, to murder Duncan at Monteith, in the night, after he had reigned a year and six months. Upon Duncan's assassination, Donald again governed the kingdom—tolerated, rather than approved—during a turbulent period of three years, the Islanders on the one side, and the English on the other, infesting the country. He, besides, incurred a great deal of hatred from the Western Islands being occupied by Magnus, king of Norway, who, although he apparently took forcible possession of them, was well enough understood to have done so merely as a pretext to cover the deceit, Donald having never in any manner resented the affront. At last the public indignation burst forth violently when the secret agreement was promulgated.

LXXXIX. EDGAR.

xxv. On Duncan's shameful treaty with the king of Norway being broken, messengers were secretly sent to Edgar, the son of Malcolm, praying him to come forward as a competitor for the crown, and promising that the country would support him, whenever he made his appearance on the borders of the kingdom. Nor were these promises vain; for as soon as Edgar, who had by means of his uncle Edgar obtained a small force from Rufus, entered Scotland, Donald was deserted by all his

party, and fled; but being pursued and overtaken, he was brought to Edgar, who committed him to prison, where he died not long after. Edgar being raised to the throne by the universal wish of all ranks, he first made peace with William, king of England, and, on his dying without children, confirmed the treaty with Henry, his brother, and gave him to wife, Matilda, [or Maud,] his sister, surnamed the good, as I formerly mentioned. From this marriage sprung William, Richard, Euphemia, and Maltilda. Edgar reigned nine years and six months in great peace, beloved and revered by the virtuous, but so formidable to the turbulent, that during his life, there were no intestine commotions; neither was there any alarm from an external enemy. One monument of his pacific labours was the monastery of Coldinghame, dedicated to St. Ebb, the virgin, afterwards changed to St. Cuthbert, which he erected in the seventh year of his reign.

XC. ALEXANDER I.

xxvi. Edgar dying without children, Alexander, his brother, surnamed the Brave, succeeded him. In the beginning of his reign, some young men impatient of rest, who thought that he would, after the example of his brother, be a peaceful, or, as they styled it, a slothful king, in order that they might ravage without restraint, conspired to murder him secretly. But the conspiracy being detected, he pursued the flying rebels to the utmost boundary of Ross-shire. When they had arrived at the Spey, they thought that the progress of the king would be stopped by the rapid current of the river; and his friends, also, wished to dissuade him, for the sea, flowing in full tide at the estuary, seemed to render a passage impossible; but setting spurs to his horse, he was about to attempt it, and the soldiers, that they might not seem to desert their king in such danger, were preparing to follow, when, his retinue still persisting to oppose him, he intrusted a division of his army to Alexander of Carron, the son of that Alexander formerly mentioned, who instantly crossed the river, and the enemy, astonished at his almost supernatural daring, immediately fled in every direction. Many were killed in the pursuit, and their leaders, who were either taken then or afterwards, and brought

to the king, were hanged. This expedition secured internal tranquillity during the rest of his life. Returning through Mearns, a poor woman met him, who complained grievously that her husband had been beaten with thongs, by the earl of Mearns' son because he had sued him in a court of justice for a debt. The king, indignant at the story, leaped from his horse, and would not move from the spot, till he saw the author of the outrage receive a similar chastisement. He then returned to Invergourie, or as others write it, Baledgar, that is the palace of Edgar. Some writers think he derived the name of Fierce from these exploits; others assign it a more tragic origin—they say, that a number of robbers, having corrupted his chamberlain, were let into the king's chamber while he was asleep, and that he, awakened by the noise, first slew the servants by whom they had been admitted, and then six of the robbers, and that the disturbance which this occasioned in the court, having alarmed the rest, they fled, but were so hotly pursued by Alexander, that the greater part of them were destroyed. After these transactions, he applied himself to works of peace. He rebuilt the church of St. Michaels, at Scoon, from the foundation, and changed the company of priests there into a monastery of monks. In crossing the Frith of Forth, having been driven by a tempest on the island of Æmona, [Inchcolm,] where he almost perished for hunger, and for many days had no food either for himself or his companions, except what they received from a devout solitary hermit, he, likewise, founded a church there, in memory of St. Columba, to which he added what are called canons, and endowed it with lands to maintain them. He, besides, bestowed large donatives and lands on St. Andrews, which was rich enough before. He completed the abbey at Dunfermline, which his father had begun, and greatly increased the revenues assigned it. Having thus reigned in peace and war for fourteen years in Scotland he died, leaving no children by Sibella his wife, the daughter of William, the Norman

XCI. DAVID I

xxvii. David, the brother of Alexander, succeeded him in the kingdom, A. D. 1124. He had remained with his sister

Matilda, in England, while his brothers successively mounted the Scottish throne, and married there his cousin, Matilda, remarkable for her beauty, wealth, and nobility; for her father was Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, and her mother Indith, grand daughter of William the Norman. By her he had a son, Henry, in whom the dispositions, both of the father and mother, were early apparent. This marriage having greatly increased his revenue, by the earldoms of Northumberland and Huntingdon, he came to Scotland, and was raised to the throne amid the universal congratulations of the people. The remembrance of his parents had undoubtedly a great effect in procuring for him the affections of the nation; yet his own personal virtues, rendered all adventitious causes of praise unnecessary. If in every other royal virtue he was equal to any king, in the facility of access to the poor, whose causes he heard with great condescension, he was far superior. He heard the complaints of the rich in person, and, if a judge had given an unjust decision, he would not set it aside, but compelled the judge to pay the damages he had awarded. After the example of his father, he prevented luxury from spreading more widely, and banished all inventors, or preparers of such delicacies, as tend to inflame the appetite. He exceeded the liberality of his father and relations, in increasing the revenues of the ecclesiastics, a liberality to be pardoned rather than praised. He rebuilt the monasteries which had gone to decay through age, or been destroyed by the ravages of war, besides founding a great number of new ones. To the six bishoprics which previously existed, he added four, Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dunblaine; and, in order to provide for the annual support of these sees, he reduced the succeeding kings almost to poverty, by consecrating the greater part of the royal lands to the support of monks.

xxviii. Joannes Major, a man of great name in theology when I was a boy, after having praised this king for his other actions, in a grave, and I wish a less true oration, blamed his profuse donations to the monasteries, and I too, am the more astonished at such immoderate profusion of the public money, and patrimony, because St. Bernard, in these very times, inveighed, in his keenest discourses, against the priests and

monks, for the immoderate expense of their luxury, who, notwithstanding, might have been termed moderate, compared with those of our day. But the fruit which followed, showed what was the nature and influence of these donations; for, as in bodies distended by corpulence, the activity of the members is destroyed, so the sparks of genius, oppressed by luxury, languished in the monasteries, literature was extinguished, piety degenerated into superstition, and, as in an uncultivated field, the seeds of every kind of vice shot up rankly.

xxix. During his whole reign there was only one civil commotion, and that rather a disturbance than a war, which he soon repressed, Angus, earl of Moray, with a great number of his followers being killed. Malcolm Macbeth,* who attempted to raise another insurrection, was committed prisoner to the castle of Roxburgh. But, while all his public measures succeeded according to his desire, he was afflicted with a double, distressing, family calamity, in the early deaths of his wife and only son. Deprived of a consort, illustrious by descent, of exquisite beauty, and accomplished manners, prematurely cut down in the flower of her age, he cherished such an affectionate remembrance of her when dead, whom he had so tenderly loved when alive, that although he survived her upwards of twenty years, he remained not only unmarried, but even without attaching himself to any other woman. Yet did not the excess of his grief prevent his attending to his public duty, either in peace or war. I shall speak afterward of his son.

xxx. While David devoted himself entirely to peaceful occupations, the unsettled state of England, dragged him, unwillingly into a war. All the children of Henry I., king of

* This Malcolm Macbeth, called by William of Newberry, Winmund, an Englishman of obscure birth, was first a monk at Formes, in Lancashire. He went afterwards to the Isle of Man, where, on account of his personal beauty and persuasive eloquence, he was chosen bishop: but, aiming at higher dignities, he pretended to be son of the earl of Moray who was killed, and obtained for his wife a daughter of Somerled, thane of Argyle. He then invaded Scotland, probably Ross-shire, where he was defeated by the bishop, and some compromise ensued; but the insolence of the adventurer having excited the people, they rose against him, surprised him, and having put out his eyes and made him a eunuch, delivered him to David, who imprisoned him in Roxburgh.

England, except his daughter Matilda, or Maud, having been drowned, on their passage from France to England, a misfortune which so deeply affected that monarch, that he is said never to have been observed to smile more. Matilda, who alone survived, had previously married the emperor Henry IV. but, upon his death, having no children, she had returned to her father in England. Henry, after this disaster, in order to confirm her succession to the kingdom, being afraid to leave her a widow and childless, in case of his death, caused all his nobility to take an oath of allegiance to her, and, in the hopes of her having children, married her to Geoffry Plantagenet, earl of Anjou. Within five years after this marriage, Robert duke of Normandy, and king Henry died, and Geoffry of Anjou, seized with a severe distemper, lay confined to his bed.

xxxI. In the meantime, Stephen, earl of Bologne, encouraged by this want of royal progeny, conceived the design of seizing the English crown. Nor did the attempt appear difficult, considering the weakness of his opponents, and, that he also was of the blood royal; for he was born of a daughter of William the Norman, who had married the earl of Blois, and was himself married to Matilda, daughter of the former earl of Bologne, cousin-german of the empress Matilda, and born of Mary, the sister of David, king of Scotland. Trusting to such connexions, in the absence of the queen of England, and the sickness of Geoffry, he hoped he would quietly obtain possession of the throne. But, that he might the more easily realize this hope, without regarding the oath of fidelity which he had sworn to the queen, along with the rest of her relations, he seduced, by great promises, several of the English bishops, who had taken the same oaths, to commit a similar act of perjury, in particular, William, archbishop of York, who was the first that swore allegiance to queen Matilda, and Roger, bishop of Salisbury, who had not only taken the oath himself, but administered the form to the other nobles. Emboldened by this confederacy, ere yet his uncle Henry was buried, he assumed the government, and reigned for two years in great tranquillity. But, rendered insolent by success, he began to neglect his agreement with the English, and to treat his neighbours with arrogance.

XXXII. * After he had forced all the former, partly by fear, and partly by promises, to swear allegiance to him, he sent ambassadors to David, king of the Scots, requiring him to do homage for Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington. David replied, that he had only lately, along with Stephen himself, and all the English nobles, taken the oath of fidelity to Matilda, as lawful queen, and, that during her life, he neither would, nor ought to acknowledge any other sovereign. On this answer being brought to Stephen, war instantly commenced, the English carrying fire and sword into the nearest Scottish counties, and the Scots avenging the loss they suffered by similar devastation. In the following year, a Scottish army, led by the earls of March, Monteith, and Angus, entered England, and encountered the English forces, commanded by the earl of Gloucester, at the village of Allarton. The battle was very keenly contested, and, while the armies remained unbroken, the slaughter was nearly equal on both sides, but the English being put to the rout, many were killed in the flight, and a great number of their nobility taken prisoners, among whom was the earl of Gloucester himself. Stephen, disheartened at this defeat, and, fearing lest it might alienate the relations of the captives from him, consented to whatever conditions of peace were offered. These were, that

* This chapter contains a very hurried summary of the transactions from 1135 to 1139; but there being no dates, it is difficult to reconcile these notices with the English accounts. This much is evident, that there were two considerable battles during that time, in the first of which the Scots had the advantage, and in the second they were defeated. The Scottish historians call the first battle the battle of Allarton, and the last the battle of the river Tees; which they simply mention as an overthrow, but without any particulars; only, Fordun says, "King David again passed the river Tees, where he was met by a very great English army on Cutton moor, and the terrible battle of the *Standard* took place, in which the Scots were vanquished, and many slain and taken prisoners," Lib. v. cap. 42. The English style the first engagement the battle of Clitherow; and the second, as Fordun, the battle or Cutton moor, or the *Standard*. On this last battle monkish historians dwell with much complacency as being gained through the influence of a consecrated host which was affixed to a flagstaff bearing the banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverly, and St. Wilfred of Rippon, and very ample details are given by St. Aldred, a cotemporary. The defeat, however was not decisive, as David was almost immediately able to act again on the offensive.

the English captives should be restored without ransom, and, that Stephen should surrender all claim which he had, as superior lord of Cumberland. Stephen, however, preserved this agreement no more sacredly than that which he made when he first usurped the kingdom of his relation. Hardly were both armies dismissed, and the prisoners delivered up, before he secretly surprised some castles in Northumberland, and renewed the war, plundering the Scottish territories. The Scots, having collected an army from the neighbouring counties, and despising the English, whom they had vanquished that same year, rashly rushed into battle at the river Tees, and lamented their contempt of the enemy by a disastrous overthrow. They were, besides compelled to quit Northumberland.

xxxiii. David, to wipe away this disgrace, having collected an army with great expedition, came to Roxburgh. Thither Turstan, or, as William of Newberry writes it, Trustan archbishop of York, was sent by the English, to negotiate a peace, in the hope of concluding which, a truce for three months was agreed upon, on condition that Northumberland should be immediately restored to the Scots. This promise, which had been made by Stephen to procure the dispersion of the army, proving also vain, David carried away a great deal of booty from that part of Northumberland which was under the English, and Stephen, collecting a body of forces, advanced to Roxburgh. But, when he perceived that his nobility were averse to the war, and complained of it as unjust and unnecessary, he returned to the interior of his kingdom, without attempting any thing, and next year, fearing an intestine sedition, sent his wife Matilda, to her uncle David to treat about a peace. Through her mediation it was agreed, that David should send from Newcastle, near which he remained, and Stephen from Durham, ambassadors to the town of Chester le Street, situate upon the road, midway between them, and at an equal distance from both, who should adjust the matters in dispute. David, in consequence, sent the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and Stephen, those of Canterbury and York. At this conference, the differences were the more easily settled, because Stephen was afraid, both

of external attack, and domestic commotion ; and the Scots complained heavily, that they were exposed to the peril of a foreign war, while Matilda, on whose account it was undertaken, remained inactive. Wherefore, peace was concluded on these terms:—That Cumberland, as by ancient right, should belong to David ; that Northumberland, to the river Tees—as William of Newberry, the Englishman, writes—and Huntingdon, should be given to Henry, the son of David, in name of his maternal inheritance, and, that he should do homage to Stephen for it.* Affairs being thus settled, David returned to Cumberland, and Stephen to Kent.

xxxiv. This peace was concluded, A. D. 1139, in which year, Matilda having returned to England, sent her son Henry, afterward king of England, to Carlisle, to his grand-uncle David, then universally acknowledged as the most powerful and accomplished knight of the age, that he might receive the honour of knighthood at his hands—an honour, in these days, conferred with every circumstance of pomp and ceremony. Such, however, was the perturbed state of the kingdom, on account of domestic dissensions, that no part of England was free from civil war, except what remained under the government of the king of the Scots. But, lest he alone should stand exempted amid public calamity, in three years after, his only son, the expected heir of so much power and good fortune, died in the prime of life, leaving three sons and three daughters. The affection which both the Scots and the English entertained for the young prince, made them consider his death, not only as a public loss, but as, individually, the greatest private misfortune, for such was the integrity and moderation of his mind, at an age when the effervescence of youth is apt to become licentious, that the rarest and most admirable fruit, was universally expected from so ingenuous a disposition, when ripened by experience. His father's grief was rendered still more pungent by the tender age of his grandchildren, and the restless and ambitious disposition of Stephen ; or, if Stephen should die, the high spirit of Henry,

* The English historians place the advance of Stephen to Roxburgh before the battle of the Standard : they all agree in the date of the peace.

the son of Matilda, who would succeed to the kingdom, flushed with the headstrong fervour of youth.

xxxv. Sick at heart with the anxious forecasting of so many apprehended evils, when all imagined he must sink beneath the pressure of his grief, such was his fortitude in the midst of his afflictions, that he invited his most intimate friends among the nobility, who, it would appear, were apprehensive lest he should allow his misfortunes to weigh too heavily upon him, to an entertainment, and thus addressed them, rather as one who could administer, than who required consolation. Nothing new, he observed, had happened, either to himself or his son. He long since had been taught, by the instructions of holy and learned men, that the world was governed by the providence of God, and, that he who endeavoured to oppose it, was not only foolish but impious. Nor was he ignorant that his son was born upon the condition that he should sometime die, or, that the loan which he received at his birth, must be returned at his death, and if he or others were ready to pay this debt, it was of no great moment at what time they were called upon by the creditor. If the wicked only died, then the decease of relations might with justice be lamented, but when we saw good men likewise depart, every Christian ought to be persuaded of that truth, that living or dying, no evil can possibly happen to the virtuous. What reason is there why we should feel this separation from our relatives so severely, especially, when it must be so short? when they do not so much leave us, as go before us to our common country, whither we too, however long our life, must soon follow. As to my son! if he have undertaken this journey first, that he might first see the holy men, my fathers and brothers, and first enjoy their company and conversation, if that grieve us, let us beware lest we do not rather seem to envy his felicity, than lament our own loss. But to you, my noble friends, to whom I owe so much for your personal kindness to myself, and your pious and grateful remembrance of my son, allow us—as for him too, I must reply—allow us to express how much we are indebted to you all.

xxxvi. This magnanimity of the king's, as it added to their former veneration for him, so it increased their regret for the

death of his son, when they reflected upon what a prince they and their children had been deprived of. David, however, that he might enjoy the only consolation which remained, ordered his grandchildren, by his son, to be brought to him, and educated in the court discipline, which was then pure and uncontaminating, and, as far as human wisdom could devise, he provided for their security. He recommended Malcolm, the eldest, to the care of the whole of the nobility, but particularly to Macduff, earl of Fife, the most powerful, and the most prudent, by whom he was carried over the whole country, and announced as the undoubted successor to the crown; William, the next born, he declared earl of Northumberland, and put him in immediate possession of the county; and David, the third, he created earl of Huntingdon, in England, and Garioch, in Scotland. He hastened to execute these arrangements the rather, because, lingering under a distemper deemed mortal, he looked forward to a speedy termination of his life. He died, A. D. 1153, on the 24th day of May, so dear to all, that his loss appeared to be that of the best of fathers, rather than that of a king. Although his whole life was exemplary beyond any thing which history records, yet for a few years before his death, he devoted himself so entirely to preparation for another and a better world, that he greatly increased the veneration which his earlier years had inspired. As he equalled the most excellent of the former kings in his warlike achievements, and excelled them in his cultivation of the arts of peace, at last, as if he had ceased to contend with others for pre-eminence in virtue, he endeavoured to rival himself; and in this he so succeeded, that the utmost ingenuity of the most learned, who should attempt to delineate the resemblance of a good king, would not be able to conceive one so excellent, as David during his whole life evinced himself. He reigned twenty-nine years, two months, and three days. *

* Lord Hailes, after quoting the concluding sentence of king David's character, adds, "This is the sentiment of a historian whose principles are esteemed unfavourable to monarchy.—*Such a sketch by Buchanan is of greater value than the studied performances of a thousand panegyrists.*"

XCII. MALCOLM IV.

xxxvii. David's successor was Malcolm, his grandson, who, though still in his minority, excited great expectations; for he had been so carefully educated, both by his father and grandfather, that he promised to resemble them, not more in the lineaments of the body, than in the virtues of the mind. In the first year of his reign, the whole of Scotland was afflicted with the most cruel famine, which occasioned a great death both of men and of cattle. Somerled was at that time thane of Argyle, whose fortune was above his birth, and his ambition above his fortune. He, having conceived hopes of seizing the throne, both on account of the age of the king and the present calamity, collected a large band of followers, and invaded the neighbouring counties. The extensive devastation which he occasioned, and the terror which spread still farther, induced a number of vagabonds to join him; and some men of rank being forced into the service, he soon collected a large army. Induced by the report of this insurrection, Donald, the son of Malcolm Macbeth, endeavoured to excite new disturbances; but being taken at Whitehorn, in Galloway, he was sent to Malcolm, and by him committed to the same prison with his father. A short time after, however, they were reconciled to the king, and were both dismissed. Gilchrist, earl of Angus, being sent with an army against Somerled, many of the rebels were slain, and he himself forced to fly with a few followers to Ireland.

xxxviii. This victory, so speedily achieved beyond all expectation, procured tranquillity at home, but created envy abroad; for Henry, king of England, an ambitious prince, and desirous of extending his dominions, resolved to weaken the growing power and authority of Malcolm; but the disgrace of breaking his agreement with David, prevented him from openly declaring war, because, when he was knighted at Carlisle by Malcolm's grandfather, on being girt with the military belt, as is the custom, he had solemnly promised upon his oath—besides our writers, William of Newberry narrates the same—that he would never attempt either to deprive David himself, or any of his posterity, of any part of those

possessions which he then held in England. Restrained by shame, the king of England, in order to have some plausible pretext for the evasion of the oath, first tried the patience of Malcolm in a matter of smaller importance. When John, bishop of Glasgow, went through Cumberland, dedicating churches, shaving priests, and performing other duties which were then believed to belong to the episcopal office, Henry, by Trutan, archbishop of York, created a new bishop in that country, whom he called the bishop of Carlisle. John, grievously affected by this affront, perceiving that he could obtain no protection either from the king or the law, left his bishopric, and withdrew into the monastery of Tours, in France; nor would he come back to Scotland, though asked by Malcolm, until forced by the Roman Pontiff, he unwillingly left his retirement, and returned to his diocess.

xxxix. The king of the Scots, treating this injury more lightly than was expected, not deeming it a sufficient cause for war, went to Chester, that, by allaying any suspicion, he might destroy every pretext for discord. On his arrival there, seduced by the guile of the Englishmen, he swore fealty to Henry, when, not the king, but his brothers, who had lands in England, ought, according to the convention formerly entered into, to have taken the oaths. But this was contrived by English cunning and malice, that the seeds of discord might be sown among the brothers, which appeared more openly the following year, when Henry obtained by flattery, from Malcolm, Northumberland, the patrimony of his brother William. Having sent for him to London, that he might do homage before Parliament, for the lands which he held in England, Malcolm, without hesitation, went thither, trusting to the public faith. However, when he arrived, nothing was done with regard to the business for which he had been invited, but he was forced unwillingly to accompany Henry to France, attended by the retinue he had brought with him. Henry's design, in this, was partly to prevent the Scots from making any disturbance in his absence, and partly, that by this device, he might alienate from him the mind of Louis, king of France. Thus was Malcolm unwillingly dragged against his ancient friend; nor was he permitted to return to

his own country, till Henry, having carried on the war with but little success in France, likewise returned home. Malcolm, at last, having obtained leave to go back to Scotland, summoned his nobles, that he might explain to them the nature of his journey, when he found the greater part of them violently incensed against him, because he had fought with a certain enemy, against an old and tried friend, nor had perceived the arts by which Henry had deceived him. The king, in his defence, replied, that he was against his inclination carried into France, by a monarch in whose power he was, and whom he dared not refuse, and, therefore, he did not despair of being easily able to exculpate himself to Louis, when it was understood how he was hurried thither, and that he carried none of his domestic forces along with him. By this apology, the sedition which was ready to burst forth, was hushed for the present.

XL. Henry, who was attentive to every transaction, was not deceived by appearances; he knew that the tumult was rather repressed for a time, than that the minds of the people were heartily reconciled towards their king. Wherefore, he again summoned him to a Parliament at York.* He was there accused of a fictitious crime:—That the English, chiefly through his means, had been unsuccessful in France; and it was referred to the meeting, whether he ought not to be deprived of all the possessions he held in England. Although Malcolm refuted this charge, and fully cleared himself in his reply, yet he found every one deaf to his arguments, and prepossessed against him, either through fear of the king, or hopes of his favour; sentence was, therefore, passed according to the wishes of Henry. Nor was he satisfied with this injustice, he caused it to be published every where, that Malcolm, freely, and of his own accord, had ceded to him these territories, and so vehemently inflamed the hatred of his own people against him, that, after he returned home, they besieged him in

* This trial is not mentioned in the English historians, in their statements, which are followed both by Abercrombie, vol. i. 251., and Lord Hailes. It was immediately after Malcolm's return from France, and while the Parliament was sitting, that he was besieged in Perth; and the meeting between the kings at Carlisle is placed before that event.

Perth, and had almost seized him ; but by the intervention of some of the seniors, their anger was a little calmed. When he informed the nobility, how he had been despoiled by Henry, of his ancient patrimony, not only unjustly, but fraudulently, they unanimously determined, that what had been taken by force, ought to be recovered by a just and pious war.

XL. War, being declared by this decree, was carried on to the great disadvantage of the two nations. At last, both kings, in conference, not far from Carlisle, agreed, after much discussion, that Cumberland and Huntington should remain with the Scots, and Northumberland be confirmed to Henry, the English king attempting no other justification of his cupidity, than that he could not suffer such a diminution of his kingdom. But although Malcolm saw that neither respect for justice, nor treaties, nor agreements, nor even the sanctity of an oath, could restrain the insatiable ambition of Henry, yet, through pusillanimity, and too great a desire for peace, he accepted the conditions, in opposition to the inclinations and protests of the Scottish nobles, who denied the right of the king to alienate any part of his dominions without the consent of all the estates. From that time, Malcolm began to be despised by his people, as one neither possessed of courage nor prudence for governing a kingdom ; nor did any thing restrain their fierce spirits from insurrection, except the greater fear arising from Henry, who, they perceived, trusting to the weakness of Malcolm, and foreign aid, eagerly wished to grasp the dominion of the whole island. This universal dissatisfaction towards their monarch, quickly destroyed all reverence for his personal government.

XLII. The commencement of a rebellion was made by Angus, or rather Æneas, a Gallovidian, * a man of considerable influence, but who placed greater confidence in the sloth of the king than in his own strength. Gilchrist, who was sent against him, defeated him in three battles, and compelled him to seek refuge in the monastery of Whitehorn, whence, it not being deemed lawful to take him by force, he was blockaded

* Fordun calls the Gallovidian chief Fergus, and his son Uchtred ; but mentions the name of no leader on the opposite side. The Chronicle of Holyrood expressly says, the king, Malcolm, led the army.

in the place, till he was compelled by hunger to agree to a pacification, by which he was deprived of a great part of his estate, and delivered up his son as a hostage for his good behaviour. His proud spirit not being able to endure this diminution of his power, he shaved his head, turned monk, and retired, from the sight and the scorn of men, to a monastery not far from Edinburgh. Neither did the opposite quarter of the kingdom remain tranquil; for the Moray men, always of a turbulent disposition, broke out into insurrection, under Gildo, or Gildominick, and not only wasted all the country round about them, but barbarously murdered the heralds sent to them. Gilchrist was likewise ordered against these rebels, with a larger force, but not with equal success; for the bravery of their adversaries, which is wont to terrify other men, drove these wretches to desperation; and, determined not to die unrevenged, they attacked their pursuers, and put them to flight. Malcolm, when he was informed of the defeat of his troops, recruited the old army, and marched into Moray. The Moray men, although they knew the forces of the king were now increased, and their own had been diminished by the preceding engagement, yet, trusting to the advantage of their situation, and rendered audacious by the late victory, they halted at the mouth of the river Tay, and resolved to give battle. The conflict was maintained with great obstinacy, and not less slaughter; nor did the rebels yield, till the king's troops, wearied and almost worn out, were strengthened and supported by fresh reserves; then, their ranks being broken, it was no longer a battle, but a slaughter; the fury of the soldiers sparing neither age nor rank. In this engagement the old Moray men were almost all put to the sword, which punishment, although cruel, did not appear unmerited, and a severe retaliation was excused by the unbounded cruelty of this perfidious people. A new colony was settled in the possessions of the slain.

XLIII. Amid so many tumults, Somerled did not remain quiet. He, as was mentioned, had escaped into Ireland after the unfortunate issue of his former attempt, whence he infested the Scottish coasts by his robberies. Thinking, now that, by these frequent slaughters, the military strength of the coun-

try must be so reduced, that he might easily acquire a large booty from the remainder, who would not dare to risk a battle, or would be easily conquered if they did, he collected, from all quarters, a band of ruffians, and sailed up the mouth of the river Clyde, where he made a landing on the left bank. Fortune at first favouring his enterprise, he advanced as far as Renfrew; but while more intent upon collecting a great quantity of plunder, than attentive to the safety of his troops, he was attacked by a force much inferior to his own, and lost almost the whole of his men. Being taken prisoner, he was brought to the king to be disgraced and punished, but some say that he fell together with his son in battle. This happened about the year 1163. Peace being established throughout the whole kingdom, a meeting of Parliament was convoked, at which, after many laws had been enacted for the government of the realm, the whole assembly unanimously petitioned the king—that being now of a mature age for entering into a matrimonial connexion, being past his twenty-second year, he would think of marrying, in order that he might have children of his own to succeed him; that it was a duty he owed to the public and to his family; and that he ought not to look to the present only, but to the tranquillity of the future. To which he answered—that since he came to the use of reason, and was capable of directing his own conduct, he had vowed to consecrate his body to God, and to preserve himself pure from any incontinent desires; which vow, he believed, had not been unacceptable to the Deity, who had given him strength to maintain it, and provided heirs to preserve the succession; so that neither, by any infirmity of inclination, nor any public necessity, was he obliged to infringe upon his vow.* Having dismissed the council, and being at peace from without, he applied himself strenuously to the family practice of building churches, and endowing monasteries, in which, had his life

* Unfortunately for this declaration, which Buchanan has copied without commentary from writers who considered celibacy as the first of Christian virtues, it is now known that the *maiden* king had a natural son, a fact which his majesty himself acknowledged in a grant he made to the Abbey of Kelso. Sir David Dalrymple conjectures, that the appellation *maiden*, may have been given to him by reason of his effeminate countenance.

been longer spared, he would far have exceeded his predecessors ; but he died not long after, on the 9th December, A. D. 1165, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the twelfth year of his reign.

XCI. WILLIAM.

XLIV. To Malcolm, succeeded his brother William, who was crowned on the fifteenth day after the death of the last king. He attended to no business, public or private, of whatever importance it might appear to be, until he had demanded the restitution of Northumberland from Henry. The king of England, on this requisition being made, commanded William to repair to London, to do him homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon, according to usage. This he performed without hesitation, but at the same time did not desist from demanding Northumberland. Henry, however, put off this claim with an ambiguous answer, saying,—that as the county of Northumberland had been taken from Malcolm by a legal adjudication, he could not of himself restore it, without the consent of Parliament ; but that he, William, ought to attend the next meeting, and there expect justice to be done him. William, although he did not expect to attain his object, yet, to give no pretext for evasion to his adversary, he determined to await in England the assembling of the Parliament ; and—although unwillingly—in the interim followed Henry to the war in France. But being able to obtain no reply to his assiduous and earnest solicitations, nor perceiving any reason to hope for the king's speedy return to England, he with difficulty obtained a passport, and returned to Scotland.

XLV. After his return, his first object was to clear the whole country of robbers, by punishing the offenders ; next, he built castles in proper situations, and placed garrisons, in order to repress sudden incursions ; and lastly, he sent ambassadors to the king of England, to demand the restoration of Northumberland, threatening war in case of a refusal. Henry, embarrassed by the French war, ceded to him that part of Northumberland, his great grandfather had possessed, which William accepted, but, at the same time protested, that he did not by this act, yield up any part of his right to the remainder.

The English king incensed at this reply, and regretting that he had parted with any part of the plunder, while the dispute was unsettled, allowed incursions into the Scottish territory, and sowed the seeds of a new war, hoping thus to obtain easily the rest, which he wished also brought into discussion. When satisfaction was demanded, according to custom, by the wardens of the marches, the English complained that their borders had been harassed by the robberies of the Scots; and the ambassadors not only did not obtain what they demanded, but were dismissed almost without any answer. The Scots, when they could not obtain justice, had recourse to force, and having collected an army, they ravaged the neighbouring English counties by fire and sword. This being the middle of harvest, the English, in the absence of their king, endeavoured to defend themselves as well as they could, but raised no army. However, during the winter, many incursions were carried on by both parties.

XLVI. Next summer William entered the enemy's territory at the head of a large army. The English, as they had not raised a sufficient number of forces to resist, sent ambassadors to his camp, to try to purchase a truce with money, and, if they could obtain it, to endeavour to persuade the Scottish king, that all would be adjusted according to his wishes. He, open and unsuspecting, and preferring peace, if not disgraceful, even to a just war, believed their fallacious promises. During the cessation of arms, the English were busily employed in warlike preparations, while they continued to send ambassadors to renew their promises, but, at the same time, to spy into the camp of the enemy. Having perceived, that the Scots, trusting to the truce, were negligent and remiss, the greater part of their army being scattered in search of provisions, upon their return to their friends, pointed out the favourable opportunity for striking an advantageous blow, and urged its being done immediately. Wherefore, having placed the greater part of their force in ambush, about four hundred horsemen, in the third watch, a few hours before sunrise, marched directly to Alnwick, where the Scottish camp was pitched. And there, a better opportunity than they had expected having occurred for carrying their enterprise

into effect, they made an attack upon the king, who was riding as if in the midst of profound peace, attended by not more than sixty horsemen, and, almost before it could be discovered whether they were friends or foes—for they were disguised as Scottishmen—took him prisoner in the ninth year of his reign. A few roused by the noise in the camp, followed in a disorderly and useless manner, and some, that the king might not appear to be deserted voluntarily, rushed among the enemy, and were made prisoners. The king was carried to Henry, then fighting in France.* Elated by this unexpected success, the English invaded Cumberland, thinking, that they would possess themselves of it without a struggle; but they were so bravely repulsed by Gilchrist and Rolland, two Scottish chieftains, that they were content to conclude a truce, upon condition of retaining Northumberland, as long as the king was a prisoner, and leaving Cumberland and Huntington, to the free possession of the Scots.

XLVII. In the meantime, David, William's brother, earl of Huntington and Garioch, who fought along with the English king, having received a passport, returned to Scotland, and, after making some temporary arrangements, sent ambassadors to England, to treat about his brother's release, who was still kept prisoner at Falaise, in Normandy. The Scottish king, in consequence, upon delivering up fifteen hostages to the English, and putting them in possession of four castles, Roxburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh, and Stirling, was permitted to

* The captivity of William and the consequent feudal surrender of the kingdom to Henry, was a subject so ungrateful to the Scots, that the violation of the truce, asserted by Tyrrel to be false, An. 1174, p. 386. has been omitted by lord Hailes as unfounded. The acknowledged violations of honour with which Henry stands charged, towards Scotland, renders it unnecessary to attempt supporting a dubious accusation: yet, in vindication of our own historians, it ought to be noticed, that a truce was purchased in that year from the king of the Scots, and that the English historians are not to be trusted to a day, especially as the honour of their saint, Thomas a Becket, happened to be concerned. One of them states, that William was made prisoner at the *same hour* that Henry was scourged before the tomb of Becket; whereas Henry was flogged on a Thursday, and William made prisoner on the Saturday. The Chronicle of Melrose too, says, that William went to France in 1166, on the business of his lord, thus antedating the superiority of Henry *twelve years*.

return home on the 1st of February. On the 15th of August, being summoned, along with his nobles and bishops, to appear at York, he attended, and there he, and all who were present—and the principal of the nobility were present—swore fealty to Henry, and did homage for the kingdom of Scotland. These conditions, although hard, the Scots agreed to, say the English writers, so anxious were they to recover their best of kings. Thomas Walsingham, an English writer, says, this surrender was not made at York, but at Constance and there are some who tell us, that this treaty between the two kings, was not for the surrender of the kingdom, but for settling some pecuniary payments, and, that the castles were delivered into the English king's hands, till these engagements were fulfilled. That this is the most probable, appears to me from the league, afterwards renewed with Richard, Henry's son, of which I shall speak in its proper place. The king being returned, Gilchrist quelled in a few months an insurrection which had arisen in Galloway, during his absence. On the 28th of January, an assembly was held at Norham on Tweed, at which William attended. There the English began violently to contend, that all the Scottish bishops should acknowledge the archbishop of York for their metropolitan, and the pope's legate, also, strongly insisted that it should be done. After a long disputation, the Scots answered, that but few of their countrymen were present, and they could not bind the absent to confirm their decree. On which account the subject was delayed, and the Scots shortly after, having sent agents to Rome, to defend their cause before Alexander III. returned home joyfully, freed by his decree from the yoke of the English.

XLVIII. Not long after, Gilchrist—whom we have often mentioned—killed his wife, who was a sister of the king, having caught her in adultery. Being summoned to stand trial, and not appearing on the day appointed, he was outlawed, his houses demolished, and his goods confiscated. About the same time, the castle of Edinburgh was restored, one of the payments having been made good, and, in order to strengthen the amity between the two kings, a stipulation was made, that neither should give a reception to the enemy of the other.

By this law, Gilchrist, who had lived in exile in England, excluded thence, returned to Scotland, where, shifting from place to place to keep himself undiscovered, he passed a wretched life, in the greatest indigence. In the meantime, William prepared an expedition into Moray, against the *Æbudæan* robbers, whose chief, Donald Bane—white—deduced his descent from the kings, and had even assumed the royal title. This chieftain, often making descents from his vessels at different points, not only laid waste the sea coast, but, increasing in audacity by his impunity, spoiled places at a great distance from the shore. The king, after despatching vessels, in order to burn his fleet, marched by land himself to attack him, and being successful, cut off the whole of the banditti, almost to a man. In returning from this expedition, at a little distance from Perth, he met three countrymen, who, except in rags and wretchedness, did not appear to resemble rustics, and seemed desirous to avoid encountering the multitude. On being brought before the king, after eyeing them earnestly for some time, he demanded to know who they were. Gilchrist, who was the eldest among them, having thrown himself at the feet of his majesty, after lamenting bitterly his unhappy fortune, told him who he was. The remembrance of the splendour in which his earlier days had passed, so affected all who were present, that no one could abstain from tears; and the king, commanding him to rise from the ground, restored him to his former honour and dignity, and received him into his friendship as before.

XLIX. These things happened in the year 1190, at which time, Richard, who had succeeded his father Henry as king of England the preceding year, when about to depart on an expedition to Syria, restored the castles of the king of Scots, sent back the hostages, absolved him and his posterity, from all treaties extorted by violence, or obtained by fraud, and permitted him to retain and enjoy the kingdom of Scotland, in the same extent, and upon the same tenure, that Malcolm, or any of the former kings had held it; which conditions Matthew Paris mentions. William on the other hand, that he might not be ungrateful to Richard, upon his setting out for that distant expedition, gave him ten thousand marks of

silver, and ordered his brother David, who was declared earl of Huntington, to follow him to Syria. He, on his return, the fleet being dispersed in a tempest, was taken prisoner by the Egyptians, and redeemed by the Venetians; then, being recognized by an English merchant at Constantinople, he was restored at last to Scotland, after being absent four years, and was received by all, but chiefly by his brother, with great gratulation. Boethius believes, that the town where David landed in safety, which was formerly called Alectum, was, from that circumstance called Deidonum, I rather think it was called Taidonum, a name compounded from Tay and Dun—Dundee. I find the name Alectum, only in Boethius. Not long after, Richard, who had experienced many changes of fortune, likewise, returned from the same peregrination. Upon his arrival, William went with his brother to congratulate him, and carried two thousand silver marks as a gift, either as a mark of gratitude for his former kindness, or compassion for his present necessities; and never were the Scots and English, it is believed, more closely united than at that time. Whilst there, William was seized with a severe distemper, and a report of his death being spread, occasioned new disturbances in Scotland. Harold, earl of Caithness, incensed against the bishop of Caithness, because he was said to have prevented him from obtaining what he wished from the king, having taken him prisoner, deprived him of his tongue and eyes. The king, upon his return home, having defeated earl Harold, and destroyed the greater part of his forces in several engagements, when the earl was overtaken in his flight, and brought before him, he ordered him to have his eyes put out, and then to be publicly hanged; the whole of his male offspring to be emasculated, his relations, and the other ministers of his wickedness, to be heavily fined. These circumstances are related by Boethius, and common report confirms them;* all which make his relation appear to me more worthy of credit than what others have told us. This commotion happened, A. D. 1199,

* The original adds, "*Collisque, a testiculis nominatus, memoriam rei gestæ servat.*" Fordun says, that Harold gave his son Torphin as an hostage for his good conduct; but rebelling, his son had his eyes put out, and was emasculated probably he was his only son.

in which year, Alexander, the king's son was born, and Richard, king of England, dying, John, his brother, succeeded him.

L. On this occasion, the king of the Scots went into England, to do homage for the lands which he held in England, but, his arrival in the beginning of the new reign was not more pleasant, than his departure was disagreeable, for he refused to follow the king of England, in an expedition against Philip, king of France, his old ally. Wherefore, when John returned from abroad, he sought occasion to quarrel with Scotland, and began to build a fort opposite Berwick. William, having in vain complained against this injury by his ambassadors, collected a force, and demolished the building. Both parties levied armies; but, when they had approached within sight of each other, peace was effected by the intervention of the nobles, on these conditions:—That two of William's daughters, should be given in marriage to two of John's sons when they came of age. A large dowry was promised, and it was stipulated, that no fortress should be built. Hostages were given for the due performance. William, on his return, was suddenly involved in unexpected danger; the greater part of the town of Perth was swept away in the night, by an inundation of the river Tay. Nor was the palace exempted from this calamity, the infant son of the king, with his nurse and fourteen more, were drowned, the rest escaping with difficulty. A great number of the common people besides, lost their lives. When the king perceived that the ground on which the city stood, had been almost wholly flooded, and scarcely any of the houses had escaped without damage, he caused a new city to be built in a more advantageous situation, a little farther down the same river, and, by a small alteration called it Perth, in honour, it is said, of a nobleman of the name of Perth, who made him a gift of the ground on which the city was built. About the same time, William took Gothard Makail, chief of the northern rebels, prisoner, he having been betrayed by his followers. After his capture, he starved himself to death, fearing, as was supposed, a more disgraceful punishment. This was almost the last memorable transaction of William's reign, and was performed by his

generals, on account of his increasing years. He died soon after, aged seventy-four, having reigned forty-nine years. The year of his decease was 1214.

LI. Not long before the death of William* treaties were renewed with John almost every year, for he was an ambitious prince, and extremely desirous of extending his dominions; who, though he had war abroad with the French, and at home with the Romanists, and peace with the Welsh or Irish was but precarious, yet he did not relinquish his desire of invading Scotland, which at that time, had an old man for a king, and the next heir a boy. Many conferences took place in consequence, more for the purpose of trying what could be obtained, than in the expectation of adjusting matters amicably, till at last their mutual distrust became apparent; and, after treaties had been frequently renewed, William at length went upon a summons, to Newcastle upon Tyne, but, being seized with a dangerous distemper while there, he returned without doing any thing. Afterwards, a little before his death, when he was invited to go to Norham, upon Tweed, and could not on account of his state of health, he was asked to send his son, but that likewise he refused, by the advice of his council. I shall not particularize the various treaties agreed upon at these conferences, which are almost all perfectly similar, and contain nothing new, except, that in one it is stipulated, that not the kings of the Scots, but their children, should in future, do homage for the lands which they held in England. All mention of these things is omitted by the English historians, I suppose on that account.

* This William is known in our history as THE LION, a title which Buchanan does not appear to think he had deserved, as he does not bestow it. Lord Hailes with a latitude which he would have probably checked in another, gives *two* origins of the epithet: "This king was termed The Lion, not because he was a Lion of courage in the field, and a Lion of justice in civil life, but because he was of a rough and stern countenance." *Historical Memorials*, p. 233. Before the days of William, none of the Scottish kings assumed a coat armorial. The lion rampant first appears on his seal. It is probable from this circumstance he received the appellation of the Lion. *Annals*, vol. i. p. 168.

XCIII. ALEXANDER II.

LII. William was succeeded by Alexander, his son by Emergard, daughter of the earl of Beaumont, a relation of the king of England. He was sixteen years old when he ascended the throne. Having received the government in troublous times, he settled affairs with more prudence than could have been expected from his age. He immediately convoked an assembly of the estates, in which he confirmed all the acts of that wise and most excellent prince, his father. His first expedition against England arose from no private ambition, but was undertaken, as was then affirmed, at the desire of the ecclesiastics, to curb the tyranny of John. After investing Norham, he raised the siege upon certain conditions, and marched into the interior, where he prosecuted the war against the royal party with much keenness. Upon his return home, John immediately invaded Scotland, and ravaged Dunbar, Haddington, and the adjacent parts of Lothian; and, in order to spread the desolations of war, he determined to go back by another way. Alexander, anxious to decide the fate of the campaign by a battle, encamped between the Pentland Hills, and the Esk, in which direction it was reported John would march; but he, to avoid any engagement, led his army along the sea coast, and burned the monastery of Coldingham. He also took Berwick, which was but feebly fortified, and likewise burned it. Hastening back by this route, Alexander followed him as fast as he could, and marched through Northumberland, carrying fire and sword, as far as Richmond. John, however, by long marches, reached the interior of England, and the king of the Scots, crossing through Westmoreland, laid the whole country waste as far as Carlisle, on his return, and took the city itself, which he fortified.

LIII. Next year, Louis, the son of Philip, king of France, having been invited, by that faction who favoured the priests against the king, to accept the kingdom upon the deposition of John; and Alexander, the king of Scotland, in order to assist his ally, came together to London in the summer. But John, deserted by his subjects, and pressed by a foreign army, on the payment of a large sum of money at the time,

and the promise of a perpetual tribute, besides transferring his crown to the Pope, so that all future kings of England, were to become vassals to his holiness, was restored into favour, and obtained by cardinal Gallo, a man of notorious rapacity, a bull from Rome, by which the French and Scots were ordered, under severe penalties and threatenings, to abstain from interfering with a people who were tributary to the holy see. Louis, upon this arrangement, returned to France, and Alexander set out for Scotland, but his army did not retire in such peace as they had advanced; for the English harassed their rear in their retreat, cutting off the loiterers and stragglers; and John having broken down the bridges, and obstructed the fords by sharpened stakes, besides removing all vessels, seemed to have thrown such impediments in the way of his return, that it was scarcely possible he could escape certain destruction. But, in the meantime, John was poisoned by an English monk, at Newark, a town situate on the banks of the river Trent, and died in two days' illness. This accident opened the road to Alexander, who, having punished the carelessness of his people, proceeded with his army more circumspectly, but not without doing considerable mischief to those through whose lands he passed, for whatever could be carried or driven away, he took with him, and reached home with immense spoil.

LIV. Gallo, the Roman legate, when he had confirmed Henry, John's son, in the kingdom, fined the nobles of England of a large sum, and then received them into favour; and that he might condole them for their loss, by inflicting an equal calamity upon their enemies, at the same time expecting to fill his own pockets, he fulminated the Romish thunder against Louis, king of France, and Alexander, king of Scotland.* The Scots were forbidden the observance of all sacred rites, on the supposition that his imprecations would make a greater impression upon the simple commonalty, than upon the king. But peace, at last, being established between the kings, the Scots restored Carlisle, and the English Berwick,

* He interdicted both kingdoms; but so little was this sentence regarded in Scotland, that almost a twelvemonth passed, before its publication.

and the ancient boundaries at King's Cross were ordered to be observed by both. Alexander being absolved from the excommunication by the English bishops, who were intrusted with that power, Gallo, enraged that so much plunder should have been taken out of his hands, turned his wrath against the bishops and other Scots priests, as his own particular charge, with whom the king had no concern, and summoned them to an assembly at Alnwick. There the more timid appeased the legate with money, and they who were more obstinate were summoned to Rome. These, on their way thither, received many letters from the English bishops and abbots to the Pope, complaining strongly against the avaricious spirit of the legate, and accusing him as the torch of discord, anxious not for public advantage, but private gain, and trafficking in peace and war at his own pleasure. Gallo, not being able to clear himself of these charges, was fined by the pope of all the money, that is to say, the plunder he had amassed, which was ordered to be divided among the complainers, who were sent home laden, indeed—with fine words—but saw none of the gold.

LV. A few years after, Henry king of England, arrived at maturity both of years and judgment, came to York, and there it was agreed, in presence of Pandulf, the Pope's legate, that Joan, the sister of the king of England, should be given in marriage to Alexander, by whom, on account of her premature death, he had no children. From that time, to the end of his life, there was peace between the two kings. There too, before the same Pandulf, the king of England solemnly swore that he would procure, for the two sisters of Alexander, marriages suitable to their rank, as his father had before engaged. One only, however, was married, the other returned home without a husband. In the next year, 1220, cardinal Giles came to Britain, to raise money for defraying the expense of the holy war; who, when he had levied an immense sum in both kingdoms, what he gathered by his imposture from the too credulous, he wasted in luxury during his journey; and when he returned empty to Rome, told a lying story about his being robbed. Another legate immediately followed, but the lieges having been twice cheated by Italian tricks,

forbade him, by a public decree, to set a foot within their territories.

LVI. Whilst Alexander endeavoured to suppress at home the vices which had sprung up during the license of war, and made the circuit of the whole kingdom, accompanied by his queen, to administer justice, Gillespie, an inhabitant of Ross, wasted the neighbouring counties. Passing the river Ness, he took and burned the town of Inverness, and barbarously murdered all who would not swear fealty to him. John Cummin, earl of Buchan, being sent against him, tracked his devious route through many a changing lurking place, and having at last taken him, beheaded him, together with his two sons, and sent their heads to the king, in proof of his having executed his commission. In the year 1222, some of the inhabitants of Caithness entered the bedchamber of their bishop during the night, and slew a monk, who had been formerly abbot of Melrose, whom he kept as a companion, and groom of his bedchamber; and wounding himself severely, they dragged him into the kitchen, and burned him together with the house. The cause assigned for such cruelty was, that the bishop had exacted his tithes that season with more than ordinary rigour. The perpetrators having been diligently sought out, were punished with the utmost severity. The earl of Caithness, who, although not actually engaged in the crime, was not unsuspected, some time after, during the Christmas holidays, which are the Saturnalia* of the Scots, being privately introduced to the king, humbly besought his pardon, and obtained it.

LVII. About this time, Allan of Galloway, by far the most powerful of the Scottish chieftains, died, leaving three daughters, of whom I shall speak hereafter. Thomas, his bastard son, despising their age and sex, declared himself lord, and, having collected ten thousand men, murdered all who opposed

* Saturnalia—A Roman festival of five or seven days, kept in the month of December, during which great rejoicings and entertainments were made, and presents given and returned, and slaves were allowed to sit at table with their masters, in memory of the golden age under Saturn, when all were equal, and had all things in common. The Popish celebration of Christmas, is here not unaptly styled Saturnalia.

him, and plundered the neighbouring districts. At length, an army being sent against him by the king, about five thousand of the rebels were killed along with their leader. In the same year, Alexander went with his wife to England, to allay, if possible, the disturbances arising against Henry, and to restore harmony between him and his nobility. While he was engaged in these endeavours at York, his queen went on a pilgrimage to Canterbury with the queen of England. On her return whence, she fell sick, and died, and was buried in London. Not long after her death, the king being childless, married Mary, daughter of Ingelram, earl of Couci, in France, A. D. 1239. By her he had Alexander, who succeeded to the crown. Two years after, in the year 1242, as the king was proceeding to England to visit Henry, who had lately returned from France, while he stopped to entertain himself with horse races at Haddington, in Lothian, the inn where Patrick of Galloway earl of Athole, was lodging, took fire, and was burned to the ground, in which the earl and two of his servants perished; the flames, besides, did considerable damage in the neighbourhood. This misfortune was not believed to have happened accidentally, because of the known enmity which subsisted between Patrick and the family of the Bissets; and although William, the chief of that family, proved by the evidence of the queen herself, that he was at Forfar, sixty miles distant from Haddington, on the night when the fire happened, yet the relations of Patrick contending that many of his servants and vassals were seen in Haddington, a day was appointed for him to answer. He accordingly came to Edinburgh on the day appointed, but, on account of the power of his adversaries—who were the Cumins—did not dare to stand trial. He offered, however, to assert his innocence in single combat; which not being accepted, he went, together with a number of his relations, into voluntary exile in Ireland, where he left a noble family of his name. Another disturbance arose in Argyle, under Somerled, the son of the former Somerled; but he, being vanquished in a few days by Patrick Dunbar, surrendered himself up to the king, and obtained pardon for all his past offences. Not long

after, the king died in the fifty-first year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign, A. D. 1249.

XCIV. ALEXANDER III.

LVIII. Alexander III. his son, a boy not yet eight years of age, was crowned at Scoon the same year. The whole power was nearly engrossed by the Cumin faction, who treated the public revenue as their private patrimony. They oppressed the common people, and if any of the nobility dared oppose their ambition, or speak too freely about the state of the kingdom, they overwhelmed them by false accusations, confiscated their property, and sent it to the exchequer, whence they, themselves, received it by a gift of the king, whom they rather commanded than obeyed. A convention of the estates being held, the chief subject of deliberation was the preservation of peace with the king of England, lest, in such a perilous time, he should be tempted to make any aggression; and the easiest method of accomplishing this, was by contracting an affinity with him. This proposal seemed, to the enemies of the Cumins, a more convenient method of weakening their power, than by openly attacking them. Ambassadors were therefore sent to that monarch, who were favourably received, and magnificently dismissed, after having obtained all the objects of their journey. Next year, which was 1251, both kings met at York, on the 24th November, where, upon Christmas day, Alexander was knighted by the king of England, and the day after, married to Margaret, Henry's daughter. The treaty of peace was also renewed, which remained firm and inviolable, as long as Henry lived.

LIX. As Alexander was still in his minority, it was determined, in a council of his friends, that he should place himself under the guardianship of his father-in-law. By which decree, several of the chief nobles being accused, they withdrew themselves secretly. Upon the king's return to Scotland, Robert, abbot of Dunfermline, and chancellor of the kingdom, was accused for having legitimized the wife of Allan Durrard, a natural daughter of Alexander II. on purpose, if the king should die without children, that she might succeed as heir. The chancellor, alarmed at this proceeding, as soon as he re-

turned home, delivered up the great seal to the nobles, and Gamelin, who was afterwards bishop of St. Andrews, was appointed his successor. During almost the whole three next years, those who belonged to the king's council, conducted themselves each as if he had been a king, and so managed and appropriated every thing, that the middle ranks were reduced to a state of complete slavery. On which, the king of England, being made acquainted with the situation of affairs, out of paternal affection to the king of the Scots, came to Werk castle, situate on the border of Scotland, and sent for his son-in-law, and his nobles, thither. There, by his advice, many judicious alterations were made, especially of those high officers through whose fault the internal tranquillity had been disturbed. Many useful statutes were also then enacted.

LX. The king having returned to Scotland with his wife, attended by an English guard, appointed to conduct him safely home, determined to reside in Edinburgh castle; but Walter Cumin, earl of Monteith, the governor, being disaffected on account of the changes made in the government by the king of England, kept possession. He was, however, compelled to surrender the fortress, by Patrick Dunbar, with the aid of the English auxiliaries. The greater part of the nobility, and of the ecclesiastics, whose power had been lessened by the new regulations, being also dissatisfied, exclaimed against them, as the commencement of English bondage; and this contumacy of theirs proceeded so far, that, when legally summoned to render an account of their transactions during the past years, they treated the order with contempt. The original agitators of the country comprising almost all the principal families of the Cumins, Walter, earl of Monteith, Alexander, earl of Buchan, John, earl of Athole, and William, earl of Mar, together with several other gentlemen of rank of the same faction, having now refused to obey the summons, as they durst not stand trial, being conscious of the numerous acts of injustice they had committed, not only against the people, but even against the king, determined to repel the danger by their audacity. Upon learning that the king had gone to Kinross, attended slenderly as in time of peace, they suddenly collected a band of their adherents, and seizing him

while asleep, carried him to Stirling; and then, as if they had not violently usurped the power, but been rightfully chosen they expelled the old ministers of the crown, appointed new, and governed every thing according to their pleasure; so that now the former counsellors became alarmed in their turn.

LXI. This sedition was quelled by the death of Walter Cumin, who was poisoned, as is believed, by his wife, an Englishwoman; and what increased the suspicion was, that although she was courted by many noblemen, yet she married her lover, a young man of that nation. She was, in consequence, accused of the crime, and thrown into prison, but secured her safety by a bribe. Russell, the husband of Cumin's widow, and his wife, on regaining their liberty, procured letters from the pope, permitting them to bring an action for damages against their adversaries, before the pope's legate; but it came to nothing, because the Scottish nobles urged, that, by ancient privilege, they could not be called out of the kingdom to answer to any charge brought against them. When the king took the government into his own hands, he pardoned the Cumins upon their humble submission, as if all their crimes had been expiated by the death of Walter. Some believe he did this on account of the power of the family, and being threatened with foreign war, was afraid of any disturbance at home; but that war was longer in commencing, than was generally expected.

LXII. In the year 1263, on the 1st of August, Haco, king of Norway, arrived at Ayr, a sea-port on the coast of Kyle, with a fleet of six hundred sail, where he landed twenty thousand men. The alleged cause of the war, was some islands which he said had been promised by Macbeth to his ancestors, but never delivered up, viz. Bute, Arran, and the two Cumbrays, which although never reckoned among the *Æbudæ*, yet, being islands, was enough to him who sought an occasion for quarrel. Haco took possession of the two largest, and reduced their castles before it was possible to oppose him; and, elated with this success, he made a descent on Cunningham, that part of the continent which lies opposite Bute, at a place called Largs. There he was struck almost at once by two disasters—first, he was defeated by Alexander Stewart, the

grandfather of the first of that name who sat on the Scottish throne, and being nearly surrounded, escaped with difficulty to his ships. Then his fleet being overtaken with a terrible tempest, a very few only were able to reach the Orkneys. In that battle, the Norwegians lost about sixteen thousand, and the Scots five thousand. Some writers assert that Alexander himself commanded in this engagement, but also make honourable mention of Alexander Stewart. Haco died of grief for the loss of his army, and a valiant youth his relation, whose name is not mentioned.*

LXIII. His son Magnus, who arrived shortly after, when he saw that affairs were beyond recovery, especially, as he could hope for no assistance from home before spring, perceiving the affections of the Islanders likewise, alienated, and deserted by the Scots, on whose assistance his father relied, when he undertook the war, became anxious for peace. Nor was he more discouraged by the unfortunate issue of the battle, than by his fears of the Islanders; for, Alexander having sent round a fleet, recovered possession of the isle of Man, situate about half way between Ireland and Scotland, upon condition that the governor of the island, should send, when required, ten large vessels to the aid of the king of the Scots, who, in return, engaged to defend the island against all foreign enemies. And Magnus, perceiving a similar disposition in the rest of the *Æbudæans*, who wished to follow his example, sent ambassadors to negotiate a treaty, but Alexander refusing to

* Torfæus, as quoted by Abercrombie, says that the storm happened previously to the engagement, and that not above eight hundred Norwegians were landed, who were instantly cut in pieces; and that king Haco from on board his fleet beheld the disaster, but was prevented by the tempestuous weather from sending any assistance. He next day, however, sent and brought away the dead bodies of two captains of his lifeguards, and of five more persons of quality, "whose long Teutonic names," adds Abercrombie, "as 'tis not easy to pronounce, so 'tis needless to insert," vol. i. p. 323.; but the number of tumuli in the neighbourhood, and their size, from one of which 15000 cart load of stones was taken, *Statist. Accounts*, Vol. xvii. p. 517. prove the importance of the engagement, as the surrender of the whole Western Islands prove its decisive nature, and establish the Scottish account of the battle of Largs, of which Dr. Macpherson, in his *Critical Dissertations*, affects to doubt if ever such a battle was fought.

listen to any terms, unless he received back the *Æbudæ*, it was at last agreed, after many discussions, that the Scots should retain possession of the Western Islands, for which they engaged to pay four thousand silver marks at the time, and one hundred marks yearly. And besides, that Margaret, the daughter of Alexander, then four years old, should be given, when of age, in marriage to Hangon, the son of Magnus.

LXIV. The king of England being about this time harassed with civil wars, five thousand Scots were sent to his assistance, under the command of Robert Bruce, and Alexander Cumin—the English writers call him John—of whom the greater part were slain in battle, Cumin, with the king of England and his son, and many of the English nobility on the king's side, being taken prisoners. The king of Scots too, had his internal tranquillity disturbed by the arrogance of the priests and monks, who, enriched by the former kings, began to grow licentious by long repose, and to exceed, or equal in magnificence the nobility, whom they already surpassed in wealth. At which the young nobles feeling indignant, behaved to them harshly and with contempt, and they, in consequence, complained to the king of the affront. He, however, either not believing the injuries so serious as the priests wished them to appear, or probably, not thinking them unmerited, treated them lightly. On which they instantly, in great wrath excommunicated the whole land, except the royal family, and threatened to retire to Rome; but, the king recollecting what disturbances Thomas a Becket, the ringleader of ecclesiastical ambition, had lately occasioned in England, recalled them when about to set out on their journey, and ordered the nobility to satisfy, not their ambition only, but even their arrogance. But what chiefly conduced to reconcile them, was the protection which the king had lately afforded to the clerical orders, against the avarice of the agents of Rome. For, a little before Ottobonus, the pope's legate, who had come to England to appease the civil discords, when he could not attain the object of his mission, laying aside all regard for the public mission, bent his whole attention to his private emolument. He called an assembly of the English ecclesias-

tics, and ordered the attendance of deputies from the Scots. In the meantime, he endeavoured to exact from each of the parishes in Scotland, four marks of silver, and six from the cathedrals, for the expense of his office. Scarcely was this contribution refused, when news came of the arrival in England, of another legate for Scotland, sent under pretext of collecting money for the holy war, who, besides indulgences, and other traps for catching the cash, had been ordered to levy a tenth part of all the annual revenues of the bishops, abbots, and parish priests, they being considered the particular property of the pope, that Edward and Edmond, sons of the king of England, might go more splendidly attended to the Syrian war.

LXV. The Scots, who thought this tax heavy and unjust, were yet more grievously offended at it, because the English seemed to wish to exact it from Scotland as a confession of their superiority, and to this was added the dread, lest the legate should spend the money collected for the war in debauchery, as they recollected had been the case a few years before. Wherefore, they forbade him to enter their territories, declaring they would collect the money without his assistance, and forward both it and soldiers, to aid the war in Syria, without putting him to any trouble upon the occasion; and they accordingly sent soldiers, under the earls of Carrick and Athole, two leaders chosen from among the first nobility of the country, to Louis, king of France, and likewise, a thousand marks of silver to the pope, lest he should think himself altogether neglected. Next year, Henry, king of England, died, and Edward I., his son, succeeded him, at whose coronation, Alexander was present, together with his wife, who died shortly after her return. And at no long interval, a succession of funerals followed. First, David, the king's son, then Alexander, recently wedded to a daughter of the earl of Flanders, also, Margaret, the king's daughter, who had been married to Hangan,* king of Norway, by whom she had a daughter who survived her. Alexander thus deprived of his wife and his children, within a few years married Joleta,

* Hangan. The Norwegian writers call the name of this king Eric.

daughter of the earl of Drewx, and within the year, fell from his horse, not far from Kinghorn, and having broken his neck, died 19th March, 1285, aged forty-five, having reigned thirty-seven years. *

LXVI. His death was a greater misfortune than that of any other king who had ever reigned over Scotland, not because it had deprived the country of a prince more distinguished by mental powers or bodily accomplishments than those who had preceded him, but because every one foresaw what calamities would by his death be brought upon the kingdom. Neglect and age have rendered obsolete the very salutary laws which he enacted, and their utility is now rather known by report than experience. He divided the kingdom into four parts, and every year he travelled over the whole, remaining three months in each quarter, to dispense justice and hear the complaints of the poor; during which time, the lowest of them had access to him. Whenever he went to hold a court, he ordered the sheriff of that district to be ready to receive him at his coming, with a chosen band of men, and to escort him at his departure safely beyond the boundaries of his jurisdiction, where he was again received by the sheriff of the next county; by which means he became acquainted with all the nobility, and was equally well known to them. Nor were the people, where he went, harassed by a crowd of courtiers, who are generally a set of sycophants equally haughty and rapacious. He commanded the magistrates to punish severely the idle, who followed no trade, nor possessed any ostensible means of subsisting, because he believed all wickedness and crimes proceeded chiefly from idleness. He reduced the train of horsemen, who followed the nobility, to a certain number, because the horses they required, which were useless in war, occasioned too much waste of provisions. As either through ignorance of navigation, or by being tempted through avarice to venture too rashly to sea, many shipwrecks had occurred, and as by frequent piracies the company of merchants were

* Knyghton seems to ascribe the death of Alexander to a divine judgment, because he was going to visit his wife in the season of Lent. Fordun speaks in a better spirit: "Let no one question the salvation of the king because of his violent death, *he who has lived well cannot die ill.*"

almost entirely ruined, he ordered, that they should no more carry on trade by sea. This regulation, after it had continued for a year, and was even complained of by some as a public grievance, yet, at length, occasioned so great a quantity of foreign merchandise to be brought to the country, that such articles never were so abundant nor so cheap in Scotland; but that, in this case too, he might consult the interest of the regular traders, he forbade that any person should buy from foreigners, except the merchants, all others being ordered to purchase what they wanted in retail from them.

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK VIII.

I. **ALEXANDER**, together with his whole progeny, except one granddaughter by a daughter, being extinct, a convention of the estates was called at Scoon, in order to discuss the question respecting the creation of a new king,* and the government of the realm during the interregnum. At this meeting, the nobles chose six of their own number to preside over the kingdom, which they divided among them thus—Duncan Macduff, earl of Fife, John Cumin, † earl of Buchan, and William Fraser, archbishop of St. Andrews, were appointed to govern that part which lies to the north ; and Robert, bishop of Glasgow, another John Cumin, and John Stuart, that part which looks to the south of the river Forth. Edward, king of England, aware that his sister's granddaughter,

* Lord Hailes objects to the expression, *de novo regi creando*, as both affected and erroneous, and adds, “ admitting his [Buchanan's] capricious notions of the Scottish government to be just, *this* [to create a new king] could not have been the business of the assembly, for Margaret had been already acknowledged as heir presumptive of the crown.” But as the queen dowager Joleta was reported to be with child at the time, the expression does not appear forced ; and, besides, it is in consonance with what was the language of the Scottish Parliament during the minority of James V., who declared, that by the demise of the king, *the power had devolved to the three estates* ; and in the case of James I., they set aside the king's will as regarded the agency.

† John Cumin. Lord Hailes says, Fordun confounds the father and son, as also appears to be the case in this list ; it should be *Alexander*, earl of Buchan. The bishop of Glasgow was Robert Wischeart, John Cumin was lord of Badenoch, and *John Stuart*, is in other records styled James, the lord high steward of Scotland, sometimes, *Dapifer Regis Scotorum*, and sometimes *Seneschallus*.

the daughter of the king of Norway, and the only remaining child of all Alexander's posterity, was the legitimate heiress of the crown, sent ambassadors to Scotland, to demand her as a wife for his son, who having descanted at great length in Parliament upon the mutual advantages which would arise from the proposed marriage, did not find the Scots very averse to the alliance.

II. Edward was a man of uncommon abilities, of great power but of greater ambition, who had displayed his courage during his father's lifetime, in the holy war, and after his death, in the subjugation of Wales. The Scots had never been so closely allied with the English, as in the reign of the late kings, nor did it, now, appear impracticable to eradicate the ancient hatred effectually, by uniting both the nations upon fair and honourable terms. The marriage was therefore readily agreed to, the following conditions only being annexed by mutual consent:—That the Scots, in the meantime, should be governed by their own laws and Magistrates, until children should spring from this marriage, who could take upon them the management of the realm. But if no children should be born, or if they should die before they attained to maturity, then the kingdom of Scotland should revert to the nearest of kin of the royal line.

III. On this arrangement being settled, Michael, or, as others call him, David Weems, and Michael Scott, two eminent knights in Fife, highly esteemed for their sagacity, were sent as ambassadors to Norway; but before they arrived there, Margaret, the young princess, had died, and they, in consequence returned home without accomplishing the end of their journey. From the premature death of this child, arose a controversy respecting the succession, which violently shook England, and almost annihilated the name of the Scots. John Baliol, and Robert Bruce, two noblemen of great power, stepped forward as competitors; the first had estates in France, the other in England, and both had extensive possessions and numerous relations in Scotland. But before I proceed with their dispute, in order to make the subject clear, I must go back a little.

IV. Upon the death of the last three kings of the Scots,

William, Alexander II. and Alexander III., together with their whole offspring, there remained only the descendants of David, earl of Huntington, who possessed any legitimate claim to the crown. David, who was the brother of king William, and the grand-uncle of Alexander III., married in England, Matilda, or Maud, the daughter of the earl of Chester, by whom he had three daughters. Margaret, the eldest of these, was married to Allan of Galloway, a powerful chieftain among the Scots; the second, to Robert Bruce, surnamed the Noble, an Englishman, distinguished both for his illustrious descent, and his large possessions; and the third, to Henry Hastings, also an Englishman, whose posterity, to this day, enjoy the earldom of Huntington; but as he abstained from urging his claim to the kingdom, I shall pass over his family, and examine, at length, the ancestry and rights of those of Baliol and Bruce.

v. During the reign of William in Scotland, Fergus, the governor of Galloway, left two sons, Gilbert, and Ethred, and William, to prevent any discord between the brothers, divided the paternal estate equally betwixt them. Gilbert, who was the eldest, indignant at this distribution, conceived a deep hatred, equally against his brother and the king, and, when the king was taken prisoner by the English, being freed from all restraint, displayed his hatred openly against both. Having seized his brother by surprise, he put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue, and not content with simply taking away his life he inflicted on him a lingering, and excruciating death; then joining himself to the English party, he ravaged the neighbouring counties, plundering his countrymen as if they had been enemies, and visiting them with all the severities of war; and had not Roland, the son of Ethred, collected a body of those who remained loyal to the king, and resisted him, he would have either entirely laid waste the adjoining districts, or brought them over to his faction. But Roland, who was young, active, and vigorous, checked the rage of his uncle, and, in his conflicts with the English, whether in driving away their ravaging parties, or leading predatory excursions into their territories, his enterprises were always bravely, and often successfully conducted. At last, upon the return of the

king to his dominions, Gilbert was pardoned, through the intercession of friends, upon promising to pay a sum of money for the damage he had done, and giving pledges for the performance of his promise.

VI. But Gilbert dying in a few days after, those who had been accustomed, under him, to bloodshed and plunder, although they had sworn allegiance to the king of England, induced, either by their fickle disposition, or alarmed by a conscious dread of punishment for their former misdeeds, resumed their arms under Kilpatrick, and Henry and Samuel Kennedy, who had before been the associates of Gilbert in his crimes. Roland was in consequence, sent against them with an army, when a sanguinary battle ensued, in which he slew the principal leaders, and a great number of the rabble they had collected. Those who escaped from this battle, fled to one Gilcolumb, a captain of robbers, who, after having wasted Lothian, plundering, and even murdering the nobility and gentry, had thence marched to Galloway, and undertaken the cause of Gilbert, though deserted by every one else as desperate; and not only took possession of Gilbert's estates, but acted as if he had been lord of the country. At length, however, he was engaged by Roland, about the beginning of October, nearly three months after Gilbert's forces had been defeated, and killed, together with the greatest part of his followers. Only a few of Roland's army were slain, but among them was his brother, a brave young man.

VII. The king of England, offended at the slaughter of those, who the year before, had put themselves under his protection, marched with an army to Carlisle, where Roland met him, and having been reconciled by means of king William, after refuting the calumnies of his enemies, by showing that he had done nothing rashly or unjustly, either against them or the public, he was dismissed honourably by the English monarch. William, on his return home, in remembrance, both of the unshaken fidelity of Ethred, his father, and in reward of his own eminent public services, bestowed upon Roland the whole of Galloway. He, at the same time, gave Carrick to the son of Gilbert, notwithstanding the conduct of his father. William of Newberry dates

these transactions in the year 1183. Roland married the sister of William Morvill, lord high constable of Scotland, who dying without children, that office descended to Roland, and became hereditary in his family. Allan, his son, on account of assistance rendered John, king of England, in Ireland, received very extensive possessions, for which, by the permission of the king of the Scots, he did him homage. This Allan, married Margaret, the eldest daughter of David, earl of Huntington, by whom he had three daughters, the eldest of whom, Dornagilla, married John Baliol,* †[the father of John Baliol] who was king of the Scots for some years. Robert Bruce, who married Isabella, the second daughter of David, [had by her a son, Robert, who] became earl of Carrick in the following manner. Martha, sole heiress of the earl of Carrick, her father having been killed in the holy war, when she arrived at the years of puberty, having accidentally seen Robert Bruce, by far the handsomest young man of the age, when hunting, courteously invited, and almost constrained him to visit her castle in the neighbourhood. While here, a similarity of age, beauty, family, and manners, easily produced a mutual affection, and they were secretly married. When the king, whose right it was to bestow the young lady in marriage, was informed of the fact, he appeared highly offended, but was afterward appeased by the intervention of friends. From this marriage, sprung Robert Bruce afterward king of Scotland.‡

* Abercrombie most liberally abuses Buchanan, for making John Baliol, the husband of Dornagilla, the competitor, instead of her son, this was most probably an omission in printing, and is now supplied in the text. He is also very angry for what he styles "the romance," in making Robert Bruce, who married the second daughter of David, the same Robert, who married the countess of Carrick, but in Ruddiman's Edit. of the history, the objection is obviated, by restoring the true reading from a MS. The words omitted in the former Edit. are "ex ea genuit Robertum filium," they are also supplied in the text. Abercrombie, in this genealogy errs greatly, but with this we have nothing to do.

† The words between brackets are supplemented to the text.

‡ In the genealogy of the Bruces, Buchanan here has fallen into a mistake common both to the Scottish and English historians, in omitting one Robert Bruce, and making Robert the king, grandson of David, earl of Huntington,

VIII. These details premised, I proceed to the immediate subject, and the competitors. These were Dornagilla, [or Devergil] the granddaughter of David, earl of Huntington, by his eldest daughter, and Robert Bruce, [father of Robert Bruce] earl of Carrick, [grandson, not] great grandson of David, by his second daughter. For Dornagilla, the custom of the country was urged, by which those who were nearest in degree, had the prior claim. For Robert Bruce, the sex was insisted upon, because, where the degrees of propinquity were the same, the males were preferred to the females, and it was denied that a granddaughter could of right, succeed to a grandfather's estate, when a grandson was alive, and, although in dividing private estates, another rule was sometimes, followed, yet in these possessions which are held in fee, as it is called, and in the succession of kingdoms, the contrary was always the law. A recent example had occurred in the dispute respecting the dutchy of Burgundy, which the duke of Nivernois claimed. But although he had to wife the granddaughter of the eldest son of the last duke, yet the inheritance was adjudged to a younger son of the duke's brother. Robert, therefore, contended, that he was a step nearer than John Baliol, who was the great grandson, while he was the grandson, and, that he was to be preferred to Dornagilla, whose relationship was equal, because the male has a preferable right to the female.

IX. The Scots nobles were unable to decide this controversy at home, because the power of the parties had divided the whole kingdom, into two factions. Baliol, by his mother, possessed the whole extensive county of Galloway, and had allied himself to the Cumins, the most powerful family in Scotland, next to the king, by means of John Cumin, who had married Mary, the sister of Dornagilla. Robert, on the other hand, held the estates of Cleveland, in England, and

whereas he was his great grandson. The true list stands thus:—ROBERT DE BRUS, lord of Annandale, who married ISOBEL, SECOND DAUGHTER OF THE EARL OF HUNTINGTON, died 1245; ROBERT, his son, *the competitor*, married ISOBEL DE CLARE, and died 1295; ROBERT, his son, was married to MARGARET, COUNTESS OF CARRICK, and died 1304. From this marriage sprung ROBERT I. THE BRUCE, the restorer of the Scottish monarchy, the *seventh* son of the same name in the BRUS family, after their settlement in Britain.

the lands of Annandale and Garioch, in Scotland, besides the earldom of Carrick by his son, [whose son was] afterward king, was connected with many of the nobles, and highly beloved by his people. On these accounts chiefly, the controversy could not be settled at home, because, allowing the best, and most equitable judgment to have been pronounced, there existed no power in Scotland able to force the parties to abide by the decision; and therefore, by almost unanimous consent, the dispute was referred to Edward, no one ever doubting the integrity of a son, whose father had proved so affectionate a father-in-law, and upright guardian to the last king of Scotland, and who had himself received so recently, such a proof of the good-will of the Scots, in the facility with which they consented to his proposals for the marriage of their queen.

x. Edward, as soon as he came to Berwick,* invited the

* It was at Norham, within the English borders, where Edward had his first meeting with the Scottish nobles, which adjourned to Holywell, in Berwickshire, near Upsettlington, now Ladykirk, and it is certain, that *Bruce*, along with all the other competitors there, acknowledged Edward, as lord paramount. The important instrument has been published in the *Fœdera*, tom. ii. p. 545, and *Bruce* stands first. In the universal confusion that followed, the annals of Scotland could not be correctly kept, and the chroniclers who wrote after *THE BRUCE* restored the independence of the kingdom, would naturally feel inclined, as far as they could, to palliate, omit, or even deny any action of his ancestor's, which had tended to subjugate the crown, whose liberty he had so nobly vindicated. This must account for some inaccuracies in Buchanan, which, as he followed them, and had not at the time he wrote, access to the English records, by which he might have corrected his mistakes, he could not avoid falling into. According to the English official accounts Edward commanded his most powerful barons in the north, to assemble with all their powers at Norham, on the 5th of June, 1291. On the 10th of May, the nobility and clergy of Scotland, met him there. When they arrived, to their utter astonishment, they were required to acknowledge the king of England, as their lord paramount. Some one said, no answer can be made while the throne is vacant. To which Edward replied furiously, by holy Edward, whose crown I wear, I will vindicate my just rights or perish in the attempt. On which, they requested a delay to consider, and the assembly was adjourned for three weeks, by which time he knew the barons he had summoned to meet him at Norham, would be assembled in arms; but, in order to avoid holding the congress in his camp, an open field near Upsettlington, on the north bank of the Tweed, was the place appointed. At this

governors of Scotland, and the deputies of the estates thither, protesting, that he did not summon them to appear as vassals before their legitimate lord and master, but as friends, to come to an arbiter, chosen by themselves. On their arrival, he first exacted an oath from the competitors, that they would stand by his decree; next, he required the nobles to swear, that they would obey him, whom, upon his oath, he should declare their lawful king; and besides, he required a public deed of the estates to this effect, to be given him, to which they should affix their individual seals. He then selected twelve of the wisest of the Scots, from the different estates, and added as many Englishmen to them, from whom he required an oath, that they would decide equitably and truly, according to their belief. These proceedings done openly, had a show of honesty, and were very grateful to the people, but in secret, and with a few, he intrigued how to reduce Scotland under his subjection. Although Edward imagined this might be easily done, the kingdom being divided into two factions, yet, that it might be more speedily accomplished, and the fraud more effectually concealed, he stirred up eight other competitors, * besides Bruce and Baliol, that from among a greater

meeting, eight competitors appeared, and being asked "whether they acknowledged Edward as lord paramount of Scotland, and were willing to receive judgment from him in that character, they all, Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, being asked first, expressly, publicly, and openly declared their assent." Next day, Baliol, who had been absent the day previous, did the same. Commissioners were then directed to be chosen, to examine the case, and report to Edward; these were forty by Baliol, forty by Bruce, and Edward to add twenty-four. All the competitors agreed, that seizin of the kingdom of Scotland and its fortresses, should be delivered to Edward and they were formally surrendered into his hands, by the keepers of the castles, and the regents at the same time made a solemn surrender of the kingdom. In this day of trial, Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, alone asserted the independence of his country. He refused to surrender the charge he said he had received from the Scottish nation, unless Edward, and all the competitors joined to give him an indemnity, and they did so. The final sentence was afterward given at Berwick, in the hall of the castle, on the 17th November, 1292, and it must be acknowledged throughout the whole business, all the competitors were equally and servilely compliant.

* 1. Florence, earl of Holland, claimed as great grandson of Ada, daughter of Henry, prince of Scotland, and sister of William the Lion, king of Scots.

number, he might the more readily seduce one or more to his party. And, lest he should seem to proceed rashly in a matter of so great importance, he proposed to consult the most pious, prudent, and learned civilians of France, not doubting but that, as lawyers never agree among themselves, he would find something in their answer, which he would be able to turn to his advantage. The new competitors, however, when they saw no grounds for their claims, desisted, of their own accord, from their pretensions. Agents, instructed by the king of England, who managed the whole business, made out a false case to the following purport.

XI. A certain king, neither accustomed to be crowned nor anointed, but placed in a certain seat, and declared king by his fellow countrymen, yet not so unreservedly a king, as to be entirely independent of another king, to whom he did homage, died without children. Two of his relations, descended from Sempronius, the grand uncle of the deceased king, claim the inheritance, viz. Titius, the great grandson of Sempronius, by his eldest daughter, and Seius, grandson by a younger daughter; which of these has the preferable claim to an inheritance, incapable of being divided. The subject being proposed for their deliberation almost in these words, they all answered nearly to the same effect, That if any law or usage existed in the kingdom which was sued for, they were to be guided by it, if not, the usage of the kingdom which possessed the superiority, was to be followed; because, in judging of fiefs, usage descends, but does not ascend, that is, the usage of the superior, gives the law to the inferior, but

2. Robert de Pinkeny, as great grandson of Marjory, daughter of Henry, prince of Scotland, and sister of William the Lion, king of the Scots. 3. William de Ros, a great grandson of Isabella, said to have been the eldest daughter of king William. 4. Patrick, earl of March, as great grandson of Ilda, or Ada, another daughter of king William's. 5. William de Vesci, as grandson of Marjory daughter of king William. 6. Patrick Galythly, as the son of Henry Galythly, who was the lawful son, as he contended, of king William. 7. Nicolis de Soulis, as grandson of Marjory, daughter of Alexander II. 8. Roger de Mandeville brought forward a fictitious claim. On examination of these claims, four proved to be untenable, as founded on the right of illegitimate daughters, and the others without foundation. Hailes' Ann. vol. i. p. 257. Ed. 1819.

not the opposite. It would be tedious to detail the individual opinions of each, but the sum was, while they in general spoke doubtfully of the rights of the litigants, they all, from the false case which had been submitted to them, decidedly gave Edward the supreme power of judging.

XII. The question being thus more implicated and involved than before, next year an assembly was convened at Norham. There Edward by his agents, secretly sounded the inclinations of the Scots, whether they would voluntarily acknowledge his authority, as he affirmed their ancestors had often done that of his predecessors, which, when they all steadily refused to do, he convoked the competitors whom he himself had set up, and induced them by extravagant promises, to swear homage to him. The others he persuaded to remove the meeting to Berwick, as a more convenient place. When they arrived at that town, he ordered the twenty-four judges, whom he had chosen, to be closely shut up in a church, to decide the controversy, and no one in the interim to have access to them. But as the business proceeded slowly, he, from time to time, went in alone among them, and, when by discoursing with them separately, he found the majority of opinion, that the preferable right belonged to Baliol, but, that he was inferior, both in the affections of the people, and the strength of his party, he called Bruce, thinking, that as his right was the weakest, he would the more easily assent to his propositions, and promised him the Scottish crown if he would acknowledge the superiority of the kings of England, and do them homage. But, when Bruce ingenuously answered, that he was not so desirous of reigning, as to abridge, for the sake of it, the liberty left him by his ancestors, he immediately dismissed him, and ordered Baliol to be brought, who being more ambitious of a crown, than anxious about his honour, readily accepted the offered condition.

XCVI. JOHN BALIOL.

XIII. In this manner, after six years and nine months from the death of Alexander, John Baliol was declared king of the Scots, and the rest of the Scottish nobility, desirous of tranquillity, proceeded with him to Scoon, where he was crowned,

all, except Bruce, swearing fealty to him. Being thus seated on the throne by the king of England, and accepted by his people, as soon as he was installed in the kingdom, in order to fulfil his engagement, he went to Newcastle upon Tyne, where Edward then was, and according to his promise, did homage, together with the nobles who had followed him, and who dared not, at such a distance from home, oppose the will of the two kings. The rest of the nobility, when they learned this, were grievously enraged, but, conscious of their weakness dissembled their anger. An opportunity, however, soon occurred for declaring it. Macduff, earl of Fife—who had been one of the six governors during the interregnum—being killed by one of the Abernethies, which family was at that time very rich and powerful in Scotland, and a brother of the earl's being brought to trial by the same family, at a meeting of the estates, the king pronounced sentence in favour of the Abernethies, adjudging to them the lands about which the dispute had arisen. Upon this, Macduff thinking himself further injured by the king, who had not formerly avenged the death of his brother, appealed to the king of England, and desired that Baliol might be called to answer before him. The cause being removed to London, was brought before the English parliament, when Baliol was accidentally sitting beside Edward in that assembly. He, when cited, wished to answer by a procurator; but this being refused, he was obliged to rise and plead his own cause from an inferior place. Not daring to show his resentment, he bore this affront in silence, but, as soon as he could withdraw himself, he returned home, his bosom boiling with indignation, and wholly occupied in revolving schemes for being reconciled to his own people, and avenged upon Edward.

xiv. While meditating upon the means of revenge, a new quarrel very opportunely occurred between France, and England, which soon broke out into a war. Ambassadors were, therefore, sent immediately to the Scottish assembly of estates, by both kings; the French monarch desiring to renew the ancient league with the new king; the king of England requiring, as a consequence of the recent surrender, that he should receive assistance in the war which he had undertaken.

Both embassies being referred to the Parliament, the nobles, eager to rebel, decreed that the request of the French was right, and that of the English unjust; for the league with France had been entered into more than five hundred years before, with the universal consent of the nation, and had, on account of its justness and utility, been preserved inviolate ever since. But this recent surrender to England, had been extorted from their king against his inclination; and even had he done it willingly, yet could it not have bound either himself or the kingdom, being the solitary deed of the prince, for the estates were never consulted, without whose advice or consent, no act of the king's was binding on the realm. It was, therefore, determined, that ambassadors should be sent to France, to renew the ancient league, and to desire one of the royal family as a wife for Edward Baliol, the son of John. Likewise, that an embassy should be sent to England, to declare—That the king of the Scots revoked the surrender of himself and his kingdom to the English, to which he had been forced by violence, but which he had no right to make; to renounce the friendship of Edward, as well for these reasons as for the innumerable injuries done to himself and his subjects; and to assert his pristine liberty. Nobody of rank daring to carry this renunciation to the king of England, haughty by nature, and spoiled by good fortune, a monk, or as others say, an abbot of Aberbrothoc, delivered the writing, who, after suffering innumerable affronts, with difficulty returned unhurt to his employers, protected rather by contempt for his insignificance, than any respect for his character as an ambassador.

xv. In the mean time, the king of England, who had concluded an armistice for some months with the French, hoping, before its expiration, to subdue the Scots, by attacking them unprepared, sent the fleet, he had assembled for his Gallic expedition, against Scotland, in order to prevent provisions from being carried to Berwick, which he had heard was defended by a strong garrison. This fleet, when it arrived in the mouth of the river Tweed, was attacked by the Scots, who destroyed eighteen vessels, and put the rest to flight. The high spirit of Edward was vehemently exasperated by this loss, and, breathing vengeance, he summoned Baliol again

and again to answer before him; while, having collected a large army, he went himself with it to Newcastle upon Tyne, where he issued a proclamation, calling once more upon John to appear at his bar, and clear himself from the criminal accusations brought against him. But, when neither he nor any one in his name appeared at the day appointed, Edward, adding policy to force, applied to Bruce, promising him the kingdom if he would faithfully lend his assistance in dethroning Baliol; to accomplish which, he said, neither much labour nor expense was required, as he needed only to send instructions to his friends, either to desert the king, or decline assisting him. In the meanwhile, he, himself, continued his route, and by forced marches reached Berwick. Soon, however, finding that he made no progress against the town, on account of the strength of the garrison, he pretended to raise the siege, as if despairing of taking it, and caused reports to be spread by some Scots of the Bruce faction, that Baliol was in the neighbourhood with a large army. When the principal persons of the garrison heard of the approach of their king, they, in order to give him the most honourable reception, hastened out promiscuously on horseback, and on foot, to meet him. On which, a body of cavalry, sent forward by Edward, advanced; and having partly trode down those who were in front, and partly separated the others from their friends, seized on the nearest gate, and entered the city. The English king followed with the infantry, and made a miserable slaughter of all ranks. There were killed of the Scots, upwards of seven thousand, among whom were the flower of the nobility of Lothian and Fife.*

* The English historians say, that the town was taken by assault, and the garrison and inhabitants butchered without distinction of age or sex; and that the commander of the castle, Sir William Douglas, capitulated. He afterwards joined Wallace, and was present with him in an attempt to surprise Ormesby, the English justiciary, while he held his court at Scoon, and in several other expeditions, but afterwards made submission to Edward, for himself, and for his party; Wallace, however, refusing to accede to the treaty, he surrendered to Edward, and was sent to England, where, according to Crawford, he married an English lady, Ferrers, but refusing, while there, to swear fealty, he was committed to prison, where he died, as is, afterward, stated in the text.

XVI. Though I had resolved, from the beginning, not to interrupt the progress of my history, by any digression, I cannot restrain myself from exposing the licentious rage for defamation, which distinguishes Richard Grafton, who lately wrote the history of England, that those who read this work, may judge what credit is due to that writer. He says, that it is written in the fourteenth book, cap. ii. by Hector Boece, that so much blood was shed upon this occasion, that the rivers, which ran through the streets, could have driven a water mill for two days. Now, first, Boece has not divided his book into chapters; and, next, what Grafton affirms, is nowhere to be found in the book at all. But leaving this shameful retailer of falsehood, let us return to Edward.—As his forces were numerous, he sent a part of his army to besiege Dunbar; and a few days after, the citadel of Berwick, hopeless of assistance, having surrendered, he, himself, followed, where, forming a junction of all his forces, he engaged the Scottish army, which had advanced to raise the siege; and after a furious contest, victory inclining to the English, the principal nobility sought refuge in the castle; which likewise surrendered, either through the perfidy of Richard Seward, the governor, or not being sufficiently provisioned for such a number as were shut up in it. The prisoners were treated with great cruelty. Some attribute the cause of this disaster to the elder Robert Bruce, whose friends yielding in battle, the rest became panic struck; and our writers, besides, uniformly affirm, that when Bruce demanded of Edward the Scottish crown, as the promised reward of his exertions on that day, he replied, in French, which he spoke fluently:—Have we nothing else to do, than to conquer kingdoms for you? —

XVII. Dunbar, and some other castles near the borders of England, being taken, the surrender of Edinburgh and Stirling followed; thence the king of England, passing over the Forth, marched upon Forfar, where Baliol then was, and when he had reached Montrose, without resistance, Baliol, by the advice of John Cumin of Strathbogie, came, and surrendered to him, both himself and his crown: thence he was sent to England by sea, and the English monarch returned to Berwick, whither he summoned the Scottish nobles, and on

their arrival, compelled them to swear allegiance to him. William Douglas, illustrious both by his descent and actions, alone obstinately refusing, was thrown into prison, where he died within a few years. Every thing having succeeded according to his wish, Edward, after appointing John Warren, earl of Surry, regent, and Hugh Cressingham, lord chief justice, returned to London. There he committed John Baliol to prison, in the fourth year of his reign, but a short time after, through the intercession of the pope, and his own promise that he would attempt nothing in Scotland, he was sent to France, Edward retaining his son as an hostage. The king of England, having now finished his preparations for the French war, which the disturbance in Scotland had interrupted, proceeded to that country with a powerful army. The Scots, whose hopes of regaining their liberty were excited by his absence, immediately chose twelve men, to whom they committed the charge of the state, who unanimously despatched John, earl of Buchan, into England with a strong force; and the English that were dispersed in the fortresses throughout Scotland, not daring to move, he ravaged Northumberland, and Cumberland, without control, and laid siege to Carlisle, which, however he was unable to reduce. This expedition, although it somewhat raised the spirits of the Scots, and checked the boasting of the English, yet contributed but little to the main object of the war, all the places of strength being kept by hostile garrisons.

XVIII. But while the nobility, in general, appeared to have neither heart nor inclination for undertaking any great enterprise, WILLIAM WALLACE* arose. He was descended from

* He was the younger son of Wallace of Ellerslie, near Paisley, in Renfrewshire, whose brother was Wallace of Riccarton. Lord Hailes, after exposing some of the errors of Blind Harry, says :—" The received opinion is, that he was outlawed for killing an Englishman ;" and, after quoting Buchanan's account, adds :—" I suspect, however, that this is nothing more than an abridgment of Blind Harry in classical Latin." But with every respect for the acuteness, learning and research, of Lord Hailes, I must observe, that this is a most unfair mode of animadverting upon a historian, it is raising a doubt where there is no ground for doubting ; and after all, his lordship admits the fact of the outlawry, for which there is no more authority than for the specific offence.

an ancient and honourable family, but born and educated in rather indigent circumstances, and heir to only a very small paternal estate. He, however, performed exploits in this war, not only beyond expectation, but beyond belief. Endowed with great strength of body and boldness of mind, while quite a youth, he slew a young English nobleman, who haughtily insulted him. For this deed he was forced to become a fugitive and a wanderer, and passed many years in various lurking places. By this method of life, his body was hardened against all changes of fortune, and, by being often exposed to danger, his mind became strengthened for deeds of greater daring. At length, tired with his unsettled kind of life, he determined to attempt something nobler, however hazardous; and having collected a considerable body of men, attached to him by similarity of fortune, he not only attacked individuals, but often with small parties, engaged, and defeated, more numerous detachments, whom he occasionally surprised in convenient situations. He performed these actions with equal celerity and boldness, while he never allowed the enemy an opportunity of obtaining any advantage over him, so that in a short time his fame spread through both nations, and multitudes resorting to him from every quarter, either forced by the same causes, or excited by an equal love to their country, he speedily found himself at the head of no contemptible army. By this tumultuous assemblage, while the nobility, either through fear or slavish indolence, abstained from interfering in the management of public affairs, Wallace was proclaimed regent, and, as Baliol's lieutenant, governed the kingdom. He assumed this title, not from ambition, or the lust of ruling, but solely from compassion and love towards his countrymen. With this band, he first tried his strength in open combat at Lanark, where he slew the sheriff of the county, an English nobleman of rank; he then took and demolished many castles, which were either ill fortified, feebly garrisoned, or negligently kept; by which partial attempts, he so emboldened the spirits of his soldiers, that they shrunk from no danger under his direction, for his boldness was never either rash or unsuccessful.

XIX. When the report of these transactions had spread

abroad, increased and exaggerated according to the desires of the people, all who wished well to their country, or were afraid for their own safety, flocked to him, and he, eager to prosecute his good fortune, soon reduced, by the terror of his name, all the fortresses which the English held beyond the Forth, although sufficiently manned, and strongly fortified. He took and destroyed the castles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose. By an unexpected assault he carried Dunnotar, which he garrisoned. The city of Aberdeen having been set on fire by the enemy, who were afraid of his coming, he entered it while yet in flames, and was prevented from taking the castle, only by the rumoured approach of the English army; for he had determined to oppose them at the Forth, being unwilling to risk a battle, except upon a field of his own choice.

xx. Edward, at his departure for France, as I have mentioned, put English garrisons into all the fortified places of Scotland; and having many Scotsmen who were faithful to him, but traitors to their country, he removed such of the principal nobility as he suspected, into the interior of England, to be kept there during his absence. Among these were John Cumin, lord of Badenoch, and Allan Logan, a brave, intelligent, and active soldier. Having settled the country in this manner, and fearing nothing less than any new revolution in Scotland, he carried with him his whole army. When he heard the report of what Wallace had performed, he thought a considerable force necessary to repress him; but not judging the expedition worthy of being led by a king, as being against a vagabond robber—for so the English termed their enemy—he wrote to Henry Percy, governor of Northumberland, and likewise to William Latimer, ordering them quickly to raise a body of forces from the neighbouring counties, and join themselves with Cressingham, who still remained in Scotland, and put down the rebels. Thomas Walsingham says, the earl of Warren commanded this expedition. Wallace, who then besieged the castle of Cupar in Fife, lest his army, which, expecting the arrival of the English, he had considerably increased, should be idle, when he learned the enemy's near approach, led his forces directly to Stirling. The Forth, almost nowhere

fordable, is there increased by several smaller streams, and the reflux of the tide in the Frith, and was then passed by a wooden bridge. At this place, when Cressingham had crossed with the greater part of his army, the bridge, either, as some of our writers affirm, by the contrivance of workmen, who, a little before, had so loosened the joints of the beams that they could not sustain a great weight, or, by the pressure of so many horse, foot, and carriages, without any stratagem at all,* gave way, and interrupted the march of the English army. On which, the Scots instantly attacked those who had passed, before their ranks were formed, and having slain their leader, drove the rest back into the river, with such havoc, that almost the whole of them were put to the sword, or drowned. Wallace, after this battle, returned immediately to the besieging of castles, and, in a short time, so changed the fortune of the war, that there remained no Englishmen in Scotland, except as prisoners. This victory, in which no Scottishman of any distinction fell, except Andrew Moray, whose son, some years after, was regent of Scotland, was gained on the 13th September, 1297. Writings found in some monasteries, and some authors, among whom is John Major, say, that Wallace was not called away from the siege of the castle of Cupar, but from Dundee, and that he returned thither after the battle.

XXI. The fields lying uncultivated, a famine followed this devastation, and a plague followed the famine, whence a greater number of deaths, it was feared, would arise than from the war. To alleviate as much as possible these calamities,

* Lord Hailes, in a note, *Annals*, vol. i. p. 306, says, "Buchanan, following Blind Harry, reports that the bridge broke down by a stratagem of Wallace. The story is too childish to be repeated. I only mention it, to show how our historians, from the love of the marvellous, have depreciated the glory due to the valour of their countrymen." From this, it would appear as if Buchanan, from a love of the marvellous, had preferred a statement by Blind Harry; a charge which would go far to shake our confidence in the historian. But the fact does not bear it out, Buchanan's words are, "*Pons, sive—ut nostri prædicant—architecti opera, &c. Sive tot peditum, equitum, machinarumque pondere, arte nulla adhibita fractus,*" &c. He, here, evidently prefers the account which attributes the fall of the bridge to the pressure of the horse, foot, and carriages. Certainly no very marvellous circumstance.

Wallace ordered that all the young men, capable of military service, should meet him on a certain day, and he led them into England, thinking they would acquire health and strength by the exercise; and that by living in an enemy's country, during the Winter, provisions at home would be spared, and his indigent soldiers, reap some of the fruits of war in an opulent country, which had so long enjoyed the blessings of peace. When he entered England, no one dared to oppose him, and having remained there from the 1st of November to the 1st of February,* when he had refreshed his men with the forage of the enemy, and enriched them with their spoils, he returned home surrounded with glory. This expedition, as it increased the renown and authority of Wallace among the people, so it excited against him the envy of the nobles; for his praises appeared to reproach the high and powerful chieftains, either with cowardice for not daring, or with treachery for being unwilling, to attempt what a gentleman in low circumstances, and destitute of every advantage of fortune, had not only bravely undertaken, but successfully accomplished. The king of England, likewise, finding the business of greater magnitude than that it could be managed by deputies, having made some temporary arrangements in France, returned home, and with a very large army, hastily levied—for he had not brought his veterans with him from the provinces beyond seas—and consisting chiefly of undisciplined recruits, marched to Scotland, thinking they would be sufficient to cope with a disorderly band of robbers. But when the armies were drawn up in order of battle, about half a mile distant from each other, in the plain of Stanmore, having observed that of Wallace, and admiring the discipline, order, and confidence, of his enemy, although he had a great superiority of numbers, he dared not risk the chance of an engagement with a veteran leader, and soldiers inured to every hard-

* While in England, Wallace granted a protection to the prior and convent of Hexceldsham, in which he, along with Sir Andrew Moray, are styled *duces*, generals of the Scottish army; from which it has been alleged, that Wallace was not *then* regent; but it does not follow, because, at the head of an army in England, he styled himself general, that, therefore, he was not *custos*, or guardian, when in Scotland.

ship; wherefore, giving orders for a retreat, he marched slowly back. Wallace, who was afraid of some stratagem, not venturing to follow, remained in his camp.

XXII. The fame of this bloodless victory, obtained over so powerful a king, incensed his enemies much more bitterly, who now widely disseminated rumours, that he was beginning openly to aspire to the crown. At which report, the nobles became indignant, particularly Bruce and Cumin, who, belonging to the blood royal, thought, if they must be subjects, it was more honourable to be so to a great and powerful king, than to an upstart, whose dominion would not be less base than dangerous; and, therefore, they determined, by every method, to undermine the authority of Wallace. Edward, who was not ignorant of their dispositions, having raised a great army, composed of the English, and the Scots who remained faithful to his interest, came next summer to Falkirk, a village built in the very tract of Severus' wall, little more than six miles from Stirling.* The Scottish army was not far distant, and sufficiently powerful, for it was thirty thousand strong, if the leaders had been united among them-

* The account Buchanan gives of the battle of Falkirk, is not irreconcilable with the more particular details of the English historians, except in the mention he makes of Bruce, as present with the English army, respecting which they are silent. Lord Hailes thinks it unlikely that the Scottish commanders should be engaged, on the day of battle, in frivolous disputes about leading the van in the army; but he forgot that it was owing to a dispute of the very same kind, that he, himself, attributes the loss of the battle of the Standard; and that he had, not four pages before, said, "From this period, [March, 1298,] I presume, to date, that jealousy which the great barons of Scotland entertained of Wallace." "Thus did the spirit of distrust inflame the passions, and perplex the councils of the nation, at that important moment, when the being of Scotland depended on its unanimity." The mistake of the name, Frerus Briangus, instead of Frere Brian jay, must have been entirely owing to some transcriber, as it is too ridiculous to suppose, that either Boece or Buchanan, who had spent so much of their lives in France, could possibly have been ignorant of the meaning of the word Frere. Buchanan does not even insinuate that Wallace deserted his country on this day of trial; and his lordship allows it to be highly probable, that Cumin did not stand. In the story of the meeting between Wallace and Bruce, Buchanan follows Fordun; the conversation has little of improbability, provided the meeting itself had not been improbable.

selves. But there were three commanders, John Cumin, John Stuart, and William Wallace, the most distinguished among the Scots, the two first, by birth and power, the last, by the glory of his exploits, and when the army was already drawn out, in three lines, in order of battle, a new source of contention was added to their previous envy,—who should lead the first line against the enemy?—while no one would yield to the other, the English decided the controversy, and with banners displayed, advanced rapidly towards them. Cumin and his men, retreated without attempting to fight; Stuart, surrounded on every side, was slain, together with all his followers; Wallace, pressed hardly in front, and threatened in rear by Bruce, who had made a circuit round a hill, retreated behind the river Carron, in as good order as the situation of affairs would admit.

XXIII. In this situation, having the river interposed, while he protected himself and collected the fugitives, he agreed to a conference with Bruce at his request. When they met alone, without attendants, opposite to each other, on the steep banks, where the river flows in a narrow channel, Bruce first broke silence. He wondered, he said, what Wallace proposed, when carried away by the uncertain favour of the mob, he exposed himself to such constant danger against a king, the most powerful of his age, and assisted by the chief strength of the Scots. He could expect no reward for such labours, for, if he even conquered Edward, the Scots would never permit him to reign; nor if he was conquered, would he have any refuge, except the compassion of his enemy. To whom Wallace replied, I never proposed, as the end of my labours, that I should obtain the kingdom; that neither accords with my situation, nor my desire. But, when I saw my countrymen, through your inactivity, to whom the crown of right belongs, destitute of leaders, subjected by a barbarous enemy, not to slavery only, but to butchery, I pitied their situation, and undertook the cause you had deserted; and their liberty, fortune, and safety I will never forsake, till life forsake me. You, to whom ignominious slavery with security, is dearer than honourable liberty with danger, embrace the fortune you so much admire. I, in the country which I have so often

defended, shall live free, or freely die; nor shall my affection for it leave me, but with my last breath. Thus the conference ended, and each returned to his camp. This battle was fought on the 22d of July, in it the Scots lost upwards of ten thousand. Of the nobles who fell, the most distinguished were John Stuart, Macduff, earl of Fife, and, among those belonging to Wallace's division, John Græme, who, next to Wallace himself, was esteemed the bravest of the Scots. On the side of the English, the only man of note who fell, was Frere Brianjay, whose military character stood high. After this unfortunate battle, when Wallace came to Perth, he disbanded his army, and yielded to that envy with which he found himself unequal to contend; neither did he ever afterward act as regent.* Yet, although he laid aside the title, he still, together with a few friends who constantly adhered to him, continued hostilities, and, whenever an opportunity presented itself of doing so with effect, pressed hard upon the English. Edward, when he had wasted all the country beyond the Forth, as far as Perth, and received the submission of those, who while he was present were afraid to oppose him, withdrew his army.

XXIV. After the departure of the enemy, those among the Scots who were desirous of the liberation of their country, being somewhat inspirited, made John Cumin, the younger, regent. He, by the advice of his council, sent ambassadors to Philip Valois, king of France, to entreat his good offices, that by means of his sister, who was then betrothed to Edward, they might at least obtain a truce. Through her mediation, this was granted for seven months. It was not, however, faithfully observed, for the English detained the ambassadors sent to pope Boniface VIII., and threw them into prison. In the meantime, the Scots, whose tempers could neither endure the tyranny of the English, nor their punishment satiate the savage disposition of Edward, seeing they could not obtain peace upon equal terms, sternly determined to prepare for the last struggle, by placing themselves beyond the hope of pardon. First, they expelled all Edward's governors, who were Englishmen, from all cities and castles, and then, by every means in

* Or general.

their power, tormented the Scots who belonged to the English faction. When this state of affairs had continued for about two years, Edward sent Ralph Confrere,* with a great body of forces, to subdue the robbers, as he called them, and to finish the war. These proceeded, plundering on every side, as far as Roslin, a place in Lothian, about five miles distant from Edinburgh; and there, dividing their army into three parts that they might plunder more extensively, they pitched their separate camps. John Cumin having joined John Fraser, the most powerful lord of Tweeddale, they collected about eight thousand men, whom they led against the enemy, either that they might prevent them from spreading their devastations, or take advantage of any favourable opportunity which might occur. And an opportunity did occur, much more favourable than they could have hoped to obtain; for the English, who expected nothing less than that an enemy so often vanquished, and broken by so many misfortunes, would attack them, and were living more carelessly than they ought to have done in an hostile country, were surprised in their first camp, by a sudden attack of the Scots, and overthrown with immense slaughter. Those of them who escaped carried confusion into the next encampment. There, in great trepidation, the cry was given to arms! and carry assistance to your friends, but, when they perceived that that assistance would be too late, they prepared to defend themselves. A fierce conflict took place between the combatants, eager, on the one side, for victory, and, on the other, infuriate for revenge. At length, the English beaten and put to flight, yielded the palm indeed, but a sanguinary one to the Scots. In the meantime, the third army, which lay at a greater distance, coming up, occasioned some terror to the Scots; for many being wounded, and the greater part fatigued by the toils of the double fight, they saw themselves threatened with imminent danger in the combat, and certain destruction if they fled. At length, by order of the commanders, the prisoners were slain, lest, while all were

* The commander of the English army was John de Segrave; Ralph Confrere, a corruption of Ralph *le Cofferer*, appears to have been the commissary-general, or the paymaster-general of the forces. Hemingford, tom. i. p. 197. quoted by Hailes.

engaged with the enemy, they should rise in their rear, and the servants being armed with the spoils of the slain, exhibited the show of a larger army to the enemy. The battle at first was fiercely contested, and continued long doubtful, till the leader of the Scots, rousing his men by the recollection of their double victory, they redoubled their exertions, and rushed upon the enemy with such vigour, that the ranks of the English were thrown into disorder, and they fled in every direction. This battle was fought at Roslin, on the 24th of February, in the year 1302. *

xxv. This victory, in as much as it was the more illustrious, three armies having been vanquished on the same day by one, only so much the more keenly did it inflame the desire of Edward to wipe away the disgrace, and put an end at length, to the protracted war. Wherefore, raising an army, greater

* By some mistake in the text, the name of one of the leaders is said to be *John Frazer*, instead of *Simon*, it is evidently a mere lapsus, as he is styled *Simon* in the xxxi. chap. of this same book. The English historians, who attempt to throw a veil over the proceedings of this memorable day, controvert the fact of the third battle. They report, that Sir Robert Neville and his men, staid behind to hear mass; that when they came up, they repulsed the Scots in a great measure, and recovered many of the prisoners, and add, "that of all those who staid behind to hear mass, no one was either killed, wounded, or taken prisoner." On which Lord Hailes remarks:—"The truth of the story as to the miracle, I take to be this. Neville, not suspecting the approach of an enemy, had remained in his quarters, performing the devotions of the day, it being the first Sunday in Lent. Before he came up, the English had been totally routed and dispersed. Neville found some Scottish stragglers in the field, occupied probably, in stripping the dead, he dispersed them, and retook some prisoners. All this, as well might have happened, was achieved without loss. I am well pleased to see that he retook any prisoners at all, for there is a shocking circumstance mentioned by Fordun, lib. xii. cap. 2. that the Scots slew their prisoners, to disembarass themselves of the trouble of guarding them." I cannot help noticing the readiness with which Lord H. endeavours to justify the English historians, or to explain away their palpable misrepresentations, contrasted with the eagerness with which he catches at the slightest lapse in those of his native country. The sceptical school had obtained such an ascendancy in his day, among literary men, that even honest upright writers, unconsciously bent to its influence, and I think I can perceive in his writings, a dread of being thought superstitious, or ridiculed as credulous, which has led him to carry his historical doubts farther than in other circumstances he probably would have done.

than he had ever before assembled, he attacked Scotland on every side, by land and sea, and wasted it even to the extremity of Ross-shire, no one daring to oppose so mighty a force. Wallace and his company alone, hovering, now on his front, now on his rear, and now on his flanks, cut off the stragglers, who either advanced rashly, or remained loitering behind, or who from a desire of plunder, went to any distance from the main body; nor did he allow any of the enemy to stray too far from their colours. The king of England often endeavoured, by large promises, to bring him over to his party, but his uniform answer to all applications was, that he owed his life to his country, to which he had devoted it, and if he could render it no other service by his exertions, yet he would die in its defence. Some castles still continued to hold out against the English, but Urquhart, in Moray, being taken by storm, and all the garrison put to the sword, the rest surrendered through fear. After these transactions, the king of England joined his son, Edward, whom he had left at Perth, and proceeded to Stirling, which he took, after a siege of three months. The garrison, when reduced to the utmost extremity, by the want of every necessary, capitulated, on condition of having their life and liberty secured; but notwithstanding, William Oliver, who commanded the castle, was detained, in contravention of the agreement, and sent prisoner to London. *

XXVI. The whole of Scotland being again reduced, an assembly of the estates was convoked by Edward, at St. Andrews, where all the principal men of the kingdom, terrified into compliance, took the oaths of allegiance, except Wallace alone; and he, dreading lest he should be given up to his most inveterate enemy, the king of England, by the nobility, who envied and hated him, retired, with a few followers, to his ancient lurking places. Edward having appointed governors and magistrates over all Scotland, returned into England. At his departure,

* The governor's name was Sir William Oliphant, [not Oliver] of Aberdagic. The siege, according to the English historians, was one of the most obstinate in the war; when the place was reduced to a pile of rubbish, they say Oliphant offered to capitulate, but Edward refused, and he was afterward compelled to surrender at discretion. His valour was rewarded by his ruthless conqueror, by being "not chained" in his imprisonment.

he gave a remarkable proof of his hatred of the Scottish name. Not content with having removed all those who appeared likely to produce any revolution, he bent his soul, if possible, to abolish the very memory of the nation; he abrogated the ancient laws, altered the religious worship according to the English form, destroyed every history, treaty, and ancient monument, whether left by the Romans, or erected by the Scots, and carried off all the books and teachers of learning into England. He sent also to London, the rude marble stone with which the fate of the kingdom was commonly believed to be connected; nor did he leave any relic by which a generous mind might be roused at the remembrance of pristine greatness, or that might excite and encourage true magnanimity of soul; and thus, having not only broken the strength, but even, as he imagined, the spirits of the people, and reduced them to a state of servile humiliation, he promised himself perpetual peace from Scotland. On his departure, he left Ailmer-de-Valence, earl of Pembroke, regent, with instructions to extinguish every symptom of disaffection, if any should arise, on their first appearance.

XXVII. A new war, however, sprung up from a quarter whence it was least expected.* Among the Scotsmen of the first rank, who were with king Edward, were Robert Bruce, son of him who contended for the kingdom with Baliol, and John Cumin, surnamed the red, from the colour of his face, cousin german of John Baliol, the last king of Scotland. These he had often talked with apart, and had long amused each with the vain expectation of the throne, and had thus obtained their assistance in the reduction of Scotland. At last, having discovered the deceit, both became extremely desirous of an opportunity for avenging themselves on the

* Lord Hailes *doubts* the generally received account of the origin of the revolution which gave Scotland liberty, apparently because it must rest upon the testimony of Scottish historians. His lordship, in his rigorous cross examination of their evidence, has certainly found some minor circumstances not accounted for, but the leading, and only important facts, as stated by Buchanan, remain "*doubted*" indeed, but uninvalidated, and no other, or better authenticated have been substituted. The Kirkpatrick's arms are derived from the part their ancestor had in the transaction at Dumfries. The crest is a hand with a dagger, and the motto, "I'se mak sicker."

king for his perfidy, but being rivals, they were restrained by mutual suspicion, from communicating their designs to each other. At last, Cumin, when he found that the proceedings of Edward were disagreeable to Bruce, broke silence, and beginning with the commencement of all their misfortunes, lamented grievously the calamities of their country; and bitterly inveighing against the treachery of the king of England, accused both himself and Bruce, by whose assistance and exertions their countrymen had been reduced to such wretchedness. After this first conversation, they proceeded further, and, having pledged themselves to each other to preserve secrecy, it was finally agreed between them—that Bruce should obtain the crown, Cumin yielding up his right to him; and, that Cumin should receive the large and opulent estates, which belonged to Bruce in Scotland, and be held next in rank to the king. When these stipulations, to which they had mutually sworn, were written and signed, Bruce, who anxiously waited an opportunity for effecting a revolution, having left his wife and brothers in Scotland, set out for the English court.

XXVIII. After his departure, Cumin, either repenting of his first design, or desirous of cutting off by fraud his rival, Bruce, and preparing for himself a more easy path to the throne, is said to have revealed their secret combination to Edward, and to demonstrate his fidelity, to have transmitted to him, the agreement signed by both. Upon which, Bruce was arraigned for high treason, forbid to depart the court, and had secret guards set over him, who were ordered to watch his every word and action. The delay of the king in punishing so open a crime, arose from a desire to apprehend his brothers, before the report of his execution should reach them. In the meantime, Bruce was warned of his imminent danger, by the earl of Montgomery, a friend of his family, who not daring to commit his advice for an immediate flight to writing, cautioned by the example of Bruce, sent to him a pair of gilded spurs, and some pieces of money, as if he had borrowed them from him the day before. Robert, for dangers make men quicksighted, perceived the signification of the gift, and at night sent for a smith, whom he ordered to affix

shoes inverted, the back put first, upon three horses, lest the traces of their route during the flight, should be tracked in the snow, and that same night, with two companions, set out upon his journey; after much fatigue both of men and horses, he arrived on the seventh day, at his castle, situate in Lochmaben. There he found his brother David, and Robert Fleming, and having joined them, scarcely had he informed them of the cause of his flight, when a courier, who was carrying letters from Cumin to the English king, fell into his hands. The purport of the despatches was, That Robert should be put to death instantly; that there was danger in delay, lest one of his noble descent, and so popular, equally wise and bold, should excite any new disturbance. The treachery of Cumin being discovered by these proofs, Robert, inflamed with rage, went straight to Dumfries, where he might get some intelligence of his enemy. There, having found Cumin in the Franciscan church, he charged him with the letters, which he produced, and, upon his impudently denying that they were his, Bruce, incapable longer of repressing his anger, thrust a dagger through his body, and left him for dead. As he was mounting his horse, James Lindsay, and Roger Kirkpatrick, the one his relation, the other his old friend, perceiving him pale and agitated, desired to know the reason, when he briefly told them the whole, and added, he believed Cumin was dead. What, answered Lindsay, have you left such an important matter in uncertainty? and having said so, he returned to the church, and not only effectually secured him, but also killed his relation Robert Cumin, who endeavoured to protect him. This murder was committed in the year 1305, on the 10th day of February.

XXIX. About the same time, Wallace, betrayed by his own familiar friend, John Monteith, * who had been corrupted

* When all who legitimately, in Scotland, bore the title of *noble*, were traitors to their honour and to their country, it is of little consequence to attempt to redeem one from the additional infamy of being a traitor to his friend. Were it possible to prove that Monteith was *not the personal friend* of Wallace, it is not worth proving, yet this has not been shown. Hailes, vol. i. pp. 345-346. Still, Monteith as the vile instrument of a tyrant, merits the execration of his countrymen. "Sir John of Monteith," says Langtopt,

by English money, was taken in the county of Lanark, where he then lurked, and sent to London, where, by the infamous command of Edward, he was quartered, and his disjointed members hung up in the most remarkable places of England and Scotland, as a terror to others. Such was the end of a man, by far the most pre-eminent in the times in which he lived, who for greatness of soul in undertaking, and wisdom and fortitude in conducting perilous enterprises, may be compared with the most illustrious leaders of antiquity. In love to his country, inferior to none of the most eminent ancient patriots, amid the general slavery, HE stood alone unsubdued and free, and neither could rewards induce, nor terrors force him to desert the public cause, which he had once undertaken, and his death was the more grievous, because, unconquered by his enemies, he fell, betrayed by those from whom it was least to be expected.

XCVII. BRUCE.

xxx. Bruce only waited until he had obtained pardon from the pope, for killing a man in a sacred edifice, and then, in

as quoted in the Annals of Scotland, "pursued Wallace so closely, that he took him unawares one night, while he was in company with his mistress. This happened through the treason of Jack Short, the servant of Wallace. Wallace, it is said, had slain the brother of Jack Short, who, on that account, was the more inclined to do him that ill office." The last scene of the hero's life was worthy of the most brilliant that had preceded. Supported by the native vigour of his unshaken soul, he asserted his personal independence before the bar and in the capital of his enemies, where he was sacrificed by his remorseless oppressor, the unconquered victim of his country's liberty. Stow thus relates it:—William Wallace, which had oftentimes set Scotland in great trouble, was taken and brought to London, with great numbers of men and women wondering upon him. He was lodged of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Fenchurch-Street. On the morrow, being the eve of St. Bartholomew, he was brought on horseback to Westminster, John Segrave, and Geoffrey, knights, the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London, accompanying him; and in the great hall at Westminster, he being placed on the south bench, crowned with laurel, for that he had said in times past, that he ought to bear a crown in that hall, as it was commonly reported; and being appealed for a traitor, by Sir Peter Malorie, the king's justice, he answered, *That he never was a traitor to the king of England*, but for the other things whereof he was accused, he confessed them, and was after headed and quartered."

the following month of April, in the year one thousand three hundred and six, he proceeded to Scoon, and was crowned king.* Knowing what a powerful enemy he had to contend with, his first object was to collect all the forces he could from every quarter; but as the whole clan Cumin, the power of which family has never been equalled in Scotland either before or since, were inimical, and, besides, the affections of many were alienated on account of the assistance he had formerly rendered the English, while the greater part remained quiet, from a dread of the enemy's power, yet, on the 20th of July, he dared, with a few adherents, to risk his fortune at Methven, in an action with Ailmer, Edward's lieutenant. In this trial he was overcome, but with little slaughter, for his soldiers, conscious of their own inferiority, fled, almost to a man, nearly as soon as the battle had commenced. Not long after, when he came to Athole, and thence attempted to get to Argyle, his design being discovered to the Cumins, he was forced to fight upon his march, at a place called Dalrie, that is, the royal field; but having lost a few men, the rest dispersed, so that the event of this engagement was similar to the first. After that time, attended by only one or two companions, he wandered in desert places, thinking himself, in the then extremity of his fortune, safest with but few companions, and led a life almost like the beasts of the forest, without any hope of assistance, if he should ever again wish to risk his fortune; for the commonalty, from this double defeat auguring ill for the future, universally forsook him. Two only of his ancient friends remained unalterably faithful, Malcolm Lennox, earl of Lennox, and Gilbert Hay. The English, however, not yet satiated with his wretchedness, sent parties into every part of the kingdom, to apprehend his relations, and, besides,

* The earl of Fife, who had the privilege of crowning the kings of Scotland, in right of his ancestor Macduff, at this time favoured the English interest; but his sister Isabella, wife of the earl of Buchan, secretly repaired to Scoon, asserted the claim of the family, and placed the crown on the head of Robert I. For this crime, she was afterwards committed to close confinement, in the castle of Berwick, in a cage strongly latticed with wood, cross barred, and secured with iron. William of Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews, was also present at the coronation—his high ecclesiastical dignity preserved him.

ordered all the wives and children of the exiles, to leave the kingdom by a certain day. The wife of Robert, himself, being taken by William, earl of Ross, was sent into England; Nigel, his brother, betrayed by the governor of Kildrummy castle, fell, together with his wife and children, into the hands of the enemy, Thomas and Alexander, his other brothers, while flying from Galloway to Carrick, were taken at Loch Ryan—the bay of Rerigonius, according to Ptolemy—and sent into England. These three were executed at different places; the rest of the Brucian party were everywhere eagerly pursued, put to death, and their estates confiscated. The king himself, frequently only with one companion, and sometimes alone, wandered through the most uncultivated places, and daily, and hourly, changed his retreats; and even thus not thinking himself safe from the perfidy of his countrymen, or the cruelty of his enemies, he passed over to the Æbudæ, to some of his ancient adherents. When he had lurked there several months, because he appeared nowhere, he was believed to have perished, and his enemies desisted from searching after him. This report, although it was conducive to his security, yet, as it would have taken away from his adherents all hopes of his ever recovering the kingdom, if continued too long, he determined to refute, by some new attempt; and having received a small body of forces, from the friends with whom he had been concealed, he sailed over to Carrick. There he took, by surprise, his own patrimonial castle, garrisoned by a strong body of English, whom he put to the sword; and lest his passage should be cut off by the enemy, he crossed the Frith of Clyde, and captured, with equal felicity, the castle of Inverness, strongly fortified, situate on a high rock by the river Ness, but negligently guarded on account of the remote situation of the country.

xxxI. The report of these exploits being spread abroad, created a great sensation throughout all Scotland. Besides his former friends, who hastened from their hiding places to the king's standard, the haughtiness of the English had procured him many new ones; for they, when they thought he was dead, had exercised their power more rapaciously and cruelly than before. His army, in consequence, was increas-

ed, not with reluctant levies, but with soldiers of the best description, either such as were inured to exertion, or impelled by despair to the utmost extremity of daring. He seized all the castles every where throughout the south of Scotland, and destroyed every one that he took; partly that he might not weaken his forces by dividing them into garrisons, and partly that the enemy might not, in case of recapturing them, have any place of safety. When Bruce had thus victoriously removed every obstacle, and had penetrated into the interior of the kingdom, John Cumin, earl of Buchan, informed of his movements, came up with him, at the wood through which the river Esk flows into the plains of Mearns, and with an army of English and Scots, which he had suddenly raised, having called out all who were able to bear arms, he followed him to a place named Glenesk. Bruce, perceiving that the narrow passes were favourable for his smaller force, prepared for battle, and waited the enemy. Cumin drew out his army in an extended line, thinking that his opponents would be panic struck at the appearance of such a multitude; but when he saw that they maintained their position, conscious of the inferiority of his soldiers, he durst not risk an engagement, in a situation which was rather unfavourable. He first sent a herald to Bruce, to treat for a suspension of arms, preliminary to a treaty of peace, which having obtained, he made no more mention of peace, but endeavoured to increase his forces by every means in his power; and distrusting the Scots who were in his army, many of whom favoured Bruce, he asked for aid from the English. In the mean time, Bruce, that he might teach the English to respect him, and also raise the spirits of his friends, stuck always close to the forces of the enemy, harassing them, now in one place and now in another, and seizing upon their weaker garrisons, never remaining long in one spot, or affording his opponents any opportunity for retaliation. About this time, Simon Fraser and Walter Logan, brave knights, and ardent lovers of their country, were taken by some persons of the Cumin faction, and delivered to the English. They were both executed at London.

XXXII. Nearly at the same time, James Douglas, son of William, joined himself to the party of Bruce. He was a

young man, allowed to excel in all the liberal arts, and, while he studied at Paris, having heard that his father was thrown into prison by the English, where he died not long after, returned home to consult with his relations respecting his future conduct. But finding his estates confiscated, and his friends dispersed, reduced to a state of extreme indigence, he applied to William Lambert, bishop of St. Andrews, by whom he was kindly received, and honourably entertained, until Edward, after he had reduced almost every other fortress in Scotland, sat down to besiege Stirling. Lambert, going thither to pay obeisance to that monarch, carried Douglas along with him, and, having found a favourable opportunity, entreated the king to restore his inheritance to the young man, whom he would find a true subject, and whose bravery and fidelity he might use with advantage; adding, besides, such praise as he thought would promote the interest of Douglas. But the king, when he learned his name and family, reflected bitterly on the stubbornness of William his father, and replied—That he neither wished to employ his son, nor make use of his assistance; nor could he restore him his paternal estates, even if he wished it, because he had already bestowed them as rewards upon those who had deserved well of him. Thus dismissed by the king of England, James remained with Lambert, till Bruce came to Mearns; then, that he might lose no opportunity of injuring the cause of Edward, whose aversion to him he perceived to be implacable, carrying off the bishop's horses and some money, but not without his knowledge, he joined Bruce, to whom his services were of much avail in many a rough storm.

xxxiii. Not long after, both kings, almost at the same moment, fell seriously ill. Edward, while busy in preparing for war against the Scots, died of his distemper in a few days, at Lancaster, leaving, as his heir, his son Edward II., who, from the place where he was born, was surnamed Caernarvon. The young king, with the army which his father had collected, marched against the enemy, having sent before him a proclamation to Dumfries, ordering all the Scots to meet him there. But a few only arriving from the neighbouring counties, and they tardily, and he, at the same time, receiving in-

telligence that his dominions beyond seas were in a disturbed state, left a force sufficient, as he thought, to quell any insurrection in Scotland, and making some temporary domestic arrangements, went over to France. In the interval, Robert, on being informed of the death of the king of England, greatly relieved, began to cherish brighter hopes, and his elevation of spirit sustained his weakness of body. Well aware, however, how much the prudence of a general contributes to secure victory, he so managed his preparations, for this last decisive stake, that he wished rather to meet and to engage than to avoid the enemy. On the other hand, when the English king returned more slowly than his friends expected, John Cumin, ambitious of the glory of finishing the war by himself, and hoping that Robert had either sunk under his disease, added to his other distresses, or that his sickness would prevent his being present in the battle, collecting into one body all the forces he could muster, marched direct against his enemy. Bruce, however, in order to animate his soldiers, ordered himself to be placed on horseback, and his appearance alone, although he could scarcely maintain his seat, even when sustained by two soldiers, infused such courage into the minds of his men, that never did they enter into battle with greater alacrity. Cumin, who had placed his hopes of victory in the sickness of his opponent, when he could neither retain his men by persuasion nor punishment, was forced to betake himself to flight along with them. Many were taken in the pursuit, and all the prisoners were treated with humanity.

xxxiv. This victory, obtained at Inverury, as it cured the king of his distemper, so it was to him the beginning of his prosperity; for, from that day whatever he attempted, he successfully executed. Shortly after, he marched into Argyle, which he wasted, and forced Alexander, lord of the county, to surrender, who, retiring to England with his family, died there, not long after, in very indigent circumstances. The same year, on the 30th of June, Edward Bruce fought with equal success at Dee, a river of Galloway. Roland, a noble Gallovidian knight, was slain in the battle, Donald, the Islander, taken in flight, and Galloway wasted far and wide. These insurrectionary tumults, roused Edward, the English

king, though desirous of ease, and averse to war; who, when he perceived that every engagement proved adverse, next year entered Scotland with a large army, which was afterwards re-enforced by such Scots as had not yet deserted the English cause. With these, he advanced as far as Renfrew, but returned without accomplishing any thing worthy of notice, either through inactivity, or because, in the scarcity which then afflicted Scotland, Robert had caused all provisions to be removed, from the country through which his army was to march, to more inaccessible places. After his departure, the Scottish king spent the remainder of the year in reducing the castles which were still held by the English, the greater part of which, despairing of assistance, surrendered without a formal siege.

xxxv. Next year, A. D. 1310, Bruce, in order to retaliate upon the enemy, twice invaded England, and returned with immense booty, without coming to any engagement. In the two following years, he recovered almost all the fortified places which remained in the possession of the English. Perth he took by storm, * and put all the garrison, Scottish and English, promiscuously to the sword, by which the others were deterred from making an equally obstinate resistance. He then levelled the walls, and filled up the ditch. The terror of this example, forced Dumfries, Lanark, Ayr, and Bute, besides many other places less strongly fortified, to surrender. In the beginning of spring, on Fastings-even, the night before Lent, usually celebrated by Bacchanalian rites, James Douglas surprised the castle of Roxburgh, while the garrison were engaged in

* In the capture of this town, which was carried by escalade, the king himself carried a ladder, and was the first to enter the ditch. Barbour says, p. 182. that when the king passed the ditch of Perth, in order to scale the walls, the water stood to his throat. This shews that Bruce was not of a stature beyond that of other men. If he had been much taller than his soldiers, the water, which stood to his throat, must have drowned them. A French gentleman, who chanced to be present, when he saw the king pass on, exclaimed, "What shall we say of our French lords, who spend their days in good cheer and jollity, while so worthy a knight hazards his life to win a miserable hamlet?" Saying this, with the gay valour which has always distinguished the French nobility, he threw himself into the water, followed the king, and shared his danger.

their revels, and, not long after, Thomas Randolph recovered the almost impregnable castle of Edinburgh. The Isle of Man likewise surrendered, and the castles were every where destroyed, lest they should afterwards prove receptacles for the enemy. In the mean time, Edward Bruce closely besieged Stirling castle, situate on a rock, precipitous on every side, except the one by which it is approached. It was held by Philip Moubray, a brave man, who, perceiving the success of the Brucian party, had strengthened the fortifications, and amply supplied it with arms and provisions, to stand a siege, to which he already looked forward. Wherefore, when Edward had spent a considerable time in vainly assaulting the place, and had no hope of taking it by force, rather than seem to have been repulsed, or to abandon it altogether, he agreed to conditions, stipulating—That if the English did not afford assistance to the besieged within one year from that date, the castle should be surrendered to the Scots, and the garrison allowed to march wherever they chose with all their effects.

xxxvi. These conditions greatly displeased the king, yet, that he might not break his brother's faith, he agreed to observe them; and as he did not doubt but that the English would come at the day appointed, he instantly prepared, as well as his poverty and circumscribed resources would allow, for meeting his powerful enemy in a last decisive encounter. The king of England, who perceived himself dispossessed, by those Scots whom his father had left vanquished and broken, not only of that kingdom, but even forced to contend for England, determined to extirpate a nation often rebellious, and always unquiet, hostile, and troublesome. In order to accomplish this, he raised an army, composed, besides his English subjects, and the Scots who adhered to the English faction, of levies from the transmarine possessions, then, extensive and opulent, greater than any king of England is ever said to have collected before. In addition, he procured assistance from his foreign allies, particularly the Flemings, whom his father had assisted against Philip, king of France. In this host, there were reported to be upwards of one hundred thousand fighting men, exclusive of the crowd of servants, attendants, and sutlers, who brought provisions, by sea and

land, to support them in a country not very fruitful in itself, and which had for so many years been the theatre of war; all followed by an immense multitude, to be distributed in colonies, and receive lands, who had brought their wives and children along with them. The whole strength of England, an opulent and long flourishing kingdom, presented thus to view, produced such a confidence in every breast, that the universal topic of conversation, with this vast assemblage, was not so much about carrying on the war, as about dividing the spoil.

XXXVII. Bruce, having heard of these great preparations of the enemy, likewise arrayed his forces, a small number, indeed, against such a multitude—only thirty thousand men—but they were accustomed to war, and hardened by domestic sufferings, and carried in their right hands their lives, their fortunes, and every hope that is dear to man. With this band, he encamped on the left side of the river Bannock. This river has steep banks, and but few and narrow fords; it is about two miles distant from Stirling. Below the hills, before it reaches the Forth, it passes through a country somewhat level, but in various places impeded by marshes. In winter, for the most part, it rushes with a rapid torrent, but at the then season of the year, owing to the midsummer heats, the waters were low and fordable in many places. As the Scottish king was inferior in men, so much the more anxious was he, by every possible art and stratagem, to render the passage of the river difficult to the English, who occupied the right bank. In the level places, he caused deep ditches to be dug, into which he fixed sharp stakes, in such a manner, that when covered over with slight turf, the deceit was concealed; and, besides, he ordered iron caltrops * to be scattered wherever it appeared they could be of service.

* Caltrops, an iron instrument, consisting of sharp spikes, which however thrown, always when lying, present one or two of their points upwards. They are particularly annoying to cavalry. Not many years ago, some of them were found when digging on the site of the field of battle. "Barbour," Lord Hailes remarks, "speaks not of the caltrops which Buchanan mentions, but it is *possible* that they also may have been used." The above fact confirms Buchanan's statement that they were.

XXXVIII. And, now, when the two armies had pitched near each other, upon opposite hills, with only a small river between, the king of England, sent from his camp, by rather a circuitous route, eight hundred cavalry to relieve Stirling.

John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen, who died 1396, wrote a metrical history of The Bruce, in the ancient Scottish tongue, which Fordun praises as perspicuous and elegant. His account of the battle of Bannockburn, is more particular, and differs in some of the incidents from that of Buchanan. It has been illustrated by Lord Hailes, whose narrative forms a complete view of the action. To the Scottish reader no apology will be requisite for subjoining it.

The king determined to wait the English in a field which had Stirling on the left, and the brook of Bannock on the right. What he most dreaded was the strength and multitude of the English cavalry. The banks of the brook were steep in many places, and the ground between it and Stirling was partly covered with wood. The place therefore, was well adapted for opposing and embarrassing the operations of horsemen. The king commanded many pits to be dug in every quarter where cavalry could have access. These pits were of a foot in breadth, and between two and three feet deep. Some slight brushwood was laid over them, and they were carefully covered with sod, so as not to be perceptible by a rash and impetuous enemy. Barbour describes their construction in a lively manner. "They might be likened," says he, "to a honey-comb." This implies that there were many rows of them with narrow intervals. By this disposition, the king exposed his left flank to the garrison of Stirling, but the inconsiderable number of soldiers in that garrison, could not greatly have annoyed the Scots. Besides, Moubray, the governor, had consented to a truce, and if he had assailed the Scots before the fate of the castle was determined by battle, he would have been deemed a false knight. In those days, the point of honour was the only tie which bound men; for dispensations and absolutions had effaced the reverence of oaths. Edward proceeded triumphantly on his march, for the relief of Stirling castle. On the 23d June, the alarm came to the Scottish camp, that Edward was approaching. The king of Scots resolved that his troops should fight on foot. He drew them up after this manner; he gave the command of the centre to Douglas, and to Walter, the young steward of Scotland; of the right wing to Edward Bruce, and of the left to Randolph; he himself took charge of the reserve, composed of the men of Argyle, the Islanders, and his own vassals of Carrick. In a valley to the rear, he placed the baggage of the army, and all the numerous and useless attendants on the camp. He enjoined Randolph to be vigilant in preventing any advanced parties of the English from throwing succour into the castle of Stirling. Eight hundred horsemen, commanded by Sir Robert Clifford, were detached from the English army; they made a circuit by the low grounds to the east, and approached the castle. The king perceived their motions, and coming up to Randolph, angrily exclaimed, "Thoughtless man, you have suffered the enemy to pass." Randolph hastened to repair

Robert, supposing these sent to the neighbouring fields to plunder, gave Thomas Randolph five hundred horse to check the marauders, and protect the country, with instructions not to decline fighting if a favourable opportunity offered. The

his fault, or perish. As he advanced, the English cavalry wheeled to attack him. Randolph drew up his troops in a circular form, with their spears resting on the ground, and protended on every side. At the first onset, Sir William Daynecourt, an English commander of distinguished valour was slain. The enemy, far superior in numbers to Randolph, environed him, and pressed hard on his little band. Douglas saw his jeopardy, and requested the king's permission to go and succour him. "You shall not move from your ground," said the king, "let Randolph extricate himself as he best may, I will not alter my order of battle, and lose the advantage of my position." "In truth," replied Douglas, "I cannot stand by and see Randolph perish, and therefore, with your leave, I must aid him." The king unwillingly consented, and Douglas flew to the assistance of his friend. While approaching, he perceived the English were falling into disorder, and that the perseverance of Randolph had prevailed over their impetuous courage. "Halt," cried Douglas, "those brave men have repulsed the enemy, let us not diminish their glory by sharing it." Meanwhile, the vanguard of the English army appeared. The king of the Scots was then in front of the line, meanly mounted, having a battle-axe in his hand, and a crown above his helmet, as was the manner in those times. Henry de Bohun, an English knight, armed at all points, rode forward to encounter him. The king met him in single combat: and with his battle-axe cleft the skull of Bohun, and laid him dead at his feet. The English vanguard retreated in confusion. Monday, the 24th of June, 1314, at break of day, the English army moved on to the attack. The van, consisting of the archers and lancemen, was commanded by Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, nephew of the English king, and Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, constable of England. The ground was so narrow, that the English army had not space sufficient to extend itself. It appeared to the Scots as composing one great compact body. Edward, in person, brought up the main body. Aymer-de-Valence, earl of Pembroke, and Sir Giles d' Argentine, two experienced commanders, attended him. Maurice, abbot of Inchaffray, placing himself on an eminence, celebrated mass in sight of the Scottish army. He then passed along the front, barefooted, bearing a crucifix in his hands, and exhorting the Scots in few and forcible words, to combat for their rights and their liberty. The Scots kneeled down. "They yield," cried Edward; "see they implore mercy." "They do," answered Ingelram de Umfraville, "but not ours. On that field they will be victorious or die." The two armies, exasperated by mutual animosities, engaged. The conflict was long and bloody. The king of Scots perceiving that his troops were grievously annoyed by the English archers, ordered Sir Robert Keith, the marshal, with a few armed horsemen, to make a circuit by the right, and attack the archers in flank. The archers having no weapons were instantly overthrown,

English perceiving this detachment, desisted from their intended march, and turned upon them. The combat was long keenly contested, victory inclining to neither party, when James Douglas, alarmed for his countrymen, who were inferior in numbers, entreated Bruce to allow him to go to their assistance. This Bruce positively refused, remaining a spectator from a hill, yet determined, if necessary, to send them aid. But when he saw the English line shaken, and success incline to the side of the Scots, he would not move from the spot, lest it should appear that he wished to share in the praise due to another.

xxxix. The English were but little dismayed at the loss of a few, from so great a multitude; while the Scots accepted the victory as an omen of a complete triumph, and prepared themselves for the battle on the morrow. The night, although then the shortest—for the battle was fought on the 23d of June—yet seemed long to the ardour of both armies. The Scots were marshalled in three divisions; the king commanded the centre, his brother the right wing, and Randolph the left. The English, besides a great number of archers, with whom they covered both wings, had also cuirassiers from France. These last, when they rushed forward to attack Randolph in flank, who was stationed in the low grounds, plunged unexpectedly into the ditches prepared by Bruce, in the most ruinous confusion, with immense loss both of men and horses. They who fell first, were crushed to death by the pressure of those who followed, and they who were last,

and falling back, spread disorder throughout the army. The young and gallant earl of Gloucester attempted to rally the fugitives, but was unhorsed, and hewn to pieces. The confusion became universal. At that moment the numerous attendants on the Scottish camp, prompted by curiosity, or eager for plunder, issued from their retirements in the rear. It seemed as if fresh troops had arrived in aid of the Scots. The English fled with precipitation on every side. Many crowded to seek relief among the rocks in the neighbourhood of Stirling castle, and many rushed into the river, and were drowned. Pembroke, and Sir Giles d' Argentine, had attended on Edward during the action. When Pembroke saw that the battle was irretrievably lost, he constrained Edward to quit the field. "It is not my wont to fly," said d' Argentine, renowned for his prowess in the Saracen wars, then spurring on his horse, and crying out "*An Argentine*," he rushed into the battle, and met death.

terrified at the disaster of the first, retreated in disorder upon their friends; while the infantry, terror-struck at the spectacle, hesitated to advance, fearing some similar snare. There occurred, likewise, a little incident, which, as often happens in war, contributed materially to decide the day.—While Robert rode in front of his army, with a battle-axe in his hand, and restrained the impatience of the first ranks, an English knight, recognizing him, ran upon him at full speed, and charged him with his lance. The king, having avoided the blow, clave his enemy with his battle-axe, as he passed him—carried forward by the impetus of his horse—and brought him lifeless to the ground.

XL. The common soldiers, highly applauding this perilous boldness of their king, rushed, without orders, with such impetuosity upon the enemy, that the opposing line seemed already broken, had not the English archers, stationed on the wings, repulsed them with great loss. Bruce, however, despatched some troops of horse, who dispersed the archers; yet a mistake did more damage to the English, than their enemies.—The crowd who followed the camp, having mounted the drivers, and attendants, on the baggage horses, displaying sheets for ensigns, ascended a hill whence they could be seen, and presented the appearance of a new army approaching. The English who stood nearest them, struck with instant terror, betook themselves to flight, and by their consternation, threw the rest of the army into confusion. An immense number fell in the flight. Our writers affirm that fifty thousand were slain. Caxton, one of their own, does not mention any certain number, but gives us the idea of a terrible carnage, for he says, the multitude of the slain was innumerable. Nor, perhaps, did he improperly leave the number uncertain, as the amount could not be easily collected; for, scattered over a wide extent of country, more perished in the flight than in the battle. The slaughter, however, was so indisputably great, that the English, although they received many provocations from the Scots, did not venture to stir for two or three years after. There fell of the English nobility, about two hundred, and nearly an equal number were taken prisoners. From these it was learned, that the king first

began the flight; and unless he had been received into the castle of Dunbar, by the earl of March, and thence sent in a boat to Berwick, he had not escaped the hands of Douglas, who pursued him upwards of forty miles with four hundred horse. Among the prisoners, was taken a Carmelite monk—one of the fraternity that derive this appellation from Carmel, a mountain in Syria—esteemed, in these days, no despicable poet, who had been brought with the army, in order to celebrate the English victory in verse, but, being captured, was forced to sing their overthrow—the price of his liberty—in a madrigal, rude, indeed, and barbarous, but not displeasing to the ear of the age. Nor was the victory bloodless to the Scots, for they lost four thousand men, but among them were only two knights. Stirling castle, in consequence, surrendered, as had been agreed upon, and the garrison were sent away.

XLI. About this time a circumstance occurred, not unworthy of being related, on account of the variety of fortune exhibited in a narrow circle. John Monteith, who had betrayed his friend Wallace, for which he was deservedly hated by the Scots, besides other rewards, had received the governorship of Dunbarton castle, from the English. This, when the rest of the fortified places were reduced, was held almost alone, or at least with a very few others, by the enemy; and, because it was by nature impregnable, the king entered into a negotiation with him, through the medium of his friends and relations, for its recovery. As the price of the surrender, Monteith demanded the earldom of Lennox, and would listen to no other condition. While the king hesitated, because, although he greatly desired the castle, yet he did not think the possession of such value, as that he should offend the earl of Lennox, his firmest and almost only friend in all his misfortunes. The earl himself, as soon as he understood this, insisted that he should not refuse the condition. The agreement was therefore finished, according to the terms which Monteith had asked, and being solemnly ratified, the king went to receive possession of the place. On his journey, there met him, in the wood of Colquhoun, which is nearly a mile distant, a carpenter named Rolland, who, having obtained admission into his presence,

on a matter of great importance, discovered a plot projected and prepared by the governor against him. It was this:—In a wine cellar, concealed, and under ground, a considerable number of Englishmen were hid, who, when the rest of the castle should be delivered up, and the king seated unsuspectingly at dinner, were to issue forth, and either kill or take him prisoner. In consequence of this information, the king, after he had received the castle from Monteith, and had examined the other parts, on being kindly invited by him to an entertainment, refused to partake until he had searched this concealed cellar. The governor pretending that the smith who had the key was absent, but would presently return, the door was broken open, and the snare discovered. The armed English being brought forth, and separately interrogated, confessed the whole, and adduced another proof—a ship of war riding in the neighbouring frith, which was to take the king to England. The other conspirators being put to death, John was spared and thrown into prison, because the king was unwilling to offend his relations, especially his sons-in-law, in such a perilous time, for he had several uncommonly beautiful daughters married to powerful, but factious, noblemen. Wherefore, upon the eve of the battle, in which they were to contend for the safety of the state, lest any of these chieftains should be irritated, and incited to revenge, he freed him from prison, upon condition—his sons-in-law being his sureties—That, placed in the front of battle, he should await the decision of fortune. *There*, the man, otherwise treacherous, served the king faithfully, and behaved with so much bravery, that by his exertions that day, he not only procured pardon for his former deeds, but even an ample reward for his conduct.

XLII. The fame of this victory, spread over all Britain, humbled the pride of the English, and raised the Scots from the very verge of despair. It procured them not money alone, but glory, and arms, and all the apparatus of war. Neither did they only release their own countrymen, who had been taken captive in battle, or by truce, but they also obtained immense wealth by the ransom of the prisoners, and many, from the spoil, both indemnified themselves for the losses they had formerly sustained, and procured, besides, large fortunes;

the English having come loaded with their most valuable effects, not as to a contest, but as to certain victory. Thus successful in war, the king employed himself, during the following winter, in restoring the state of the kingdom, so long wasted by hostilities, and in bestowing rewards on the deserving. In the ensuing spring, Berwick was taken from the English, having been twenty years in their possession; after which, an assembly of the estates was convened at Ayr, a town of Kyle, where, in a full meeting, the crown was confirmed to Bruce, by the unanimous suffrages of all the orders. Then, as the king had only one daughter by his former wife, the nobles, remembering what mischief had arisen to the kingdom in former times from a disputed succession, decreed—That if the king left no male descendant, Edward, his brother, should be created king; that if he also died without a son, then Mary, the daughter of Robert, and her children, should succeed to the throne, the nobility to choose for her a husband worthy of their princess and the crown, for it was deemed more equitable that a girl should have a husband chosen for her by the nation, than that the nation should have a king chosen for them by a girl. It was also enacted, that during the minority, Thomas Randolph, or failing him, James Douglas, should be tutor to the king, and governor of the kingdom.

XLIII. The fame of Robert's warlike exploits and domestic government, induced the Irish to send ambassadors to him, offering to put themselves under his protection, or, if he should be detained at home by the state of his own dominions, beseeching that he would give them his brother Edward as a king, nor allow a nation allied to him, to be oppressed by intolerable servitude, under the cruel and haughty domination of the English. The Irish, likewise, wrote to the Roman pontiff to the same purport, who in vain recommended to the English to abstain from injuring that people. At last, Edward Bruce proceeded thither with a great army, and, by universal consent, was declared king. In the first year of his landing, he drove the English out of Ulster, which he reduced, and marched over all the other provinces of the island with his victorious army. Next year, a new army having been sent

over from England, when the difficulties of the war increased, Robert collected a fresh body of forces, and hastened to the assistance of his brother; but, after suffering much during the expedition from the want of provisions, when almost within one day's march of his destination, he received certain information, that his brother had been cut off, together with his whole army, on the 5th of October. The report is, that Edward, hurried on by too great a desire of glory, rashly engaged the enemy, lest he should share the victory with his brother.

XLIV. The king of England, when he learned that the flower of the Scottish youth were absent with Robert in Ireland, thinking that an excellent occasion presented itself for avenging his former defeats, sent a large army into Scotland, under chosen commanders. Douglas, governor of the borders, engaged them at three different places, slew almost all their leaders, and the greater part of the soldiers. The English, unfortunate with their land forces, sailed up the Forth, with a fleet, in which description of strength they were more powerful, and plundered all the coast by their descents. The earl of Fife in consequence, sent five hundred horse, to check the plunderers, but they not daring to attack such a number, retreated. On their return, William Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, accompanied by about sixty attendants, met them, who, when he learned the cause, sharply upbraiding their cowardice, exclaimed, all who wish well to Scotland, follow me! When he had thus spoken, he seized a lance, and the whole cheerfully following him, attacked the straggling plunderers with vigour, and drove them so hurriedly to the shore, that, while they hastened to re-embark, one small vessel, overloaded with the numbers who rushed on board, sunk, and all perished. In the action, there fell not less than five hundred English. This exploit of Sinclair's was so grateful to the king, that ever after, he called him his bishop.

XLV. That summer, on account of the failure of the crop, a general disease among the cattle, and the frequent incursions of the enemy, the counties of England bordering upon Scotland, lay almost uncultivated. Edward, in order to remedy this last evil, came to York, but, when he arrived, finding

himself unable to raise an army, as the country was so depopulated, he forced London and its vicinity, to supply him with soldiers, although most of the inhabitants were exempted from military service. Thus at last, however, having raised an army, he advanced to besiege Berwick; but scarcely had he arrived there, when Thomas Randolph, crossing the river Solway, entered England in another quarter, with fire and sword, not only meeting with no resistance, but in many places, scarcely meeting with an inhabitant, for, a plague in the preceding year had made such devastation, that the appearance of the country seemed pitiable, even to an enemy. When the Scots had advanced about a hundred miles, burning and spoiling all before them, particularly in the neighbourhood of York, a sense of the indignity, rather than any confidence in his strength, forced the archbishop to take arms. He collected a force, sufficiently numerous, but unwarlike, consisting of a promiscuous multitude of priests, artificers, and rustics, whom he led against the invaders, with more courage than judgment; when being baffled and put to the rout, after losing the greater part of his men in the battle, he, with a few attendants, escaped by flight. So great was the slaughter of priests upon this occasion, that it was long called by the English, the white battle.* Edward, on hearing of the disaster, and fearing lest the victor should attempt some greater enterprise, raised the siege of Berwick, and went to York, and thence—the Scots having retreated—he withdrew into the interior of the kingdom.

XLVI. The English afterwards, being occupied with domestic tumults, a short truce followed, rather because the kings were worn out with war, than because they were desirous of peace. During this suspension of hostilities, Robert summoned a convention, at which he commanded all the nobility to be present, and because the vicissitudes of a long war had confounded the rights of property, he ordered every one to produce the titles by which they held their possessions. This demand was equally vexatious to the old possessors, as to the

* The white battle, or the *chapter of Milton*, from the number of priests who were left on the field with their white surplices. There were more than three hundred slain.

new, because brave men thought they held by the best right, those estates they had taken by their arms from the enemy, and were displeased to have the rewards of their dangers, and the purchase of their blood, torn from them in peace; and the ancient possessors, as scarcely a house had escaped the calamity of war, had lost their written rights—if they ever had any—along with their other effects. They therefore took a step, bold in appearance, but desperate and rash in the event. When the king in parliament, desired them to produce their titles to their possessions, they all drew their swords, exclaiming, that they carried their titles in their right hands. The king, struck with this sudden and unexpected spectacle, although indignant at the proceeding, yet concealed his anger for the present. An opportunity, however, soon occurred to display it. Many of the nobility, conscious of the audacity of the action, and dreading punishment, entered into a conspiracy for betraying the kingdom to the English. This plot was discovered by an informer, who so distinctly stated the fact, that letters were intercepted, detailing the manner, time, and place. On the treason being thus plainly detected, the conspirators were apprehended without any tumult, and brought before the king. But as it was feared that William Soulis, governor of Berwick, who was implicated, would deliver up both the town and castle to the English, the king, before the discovery was divulged, went thither, as if upon some other business, and secured it. When the whole were apprehended, a parliament was summoned at Perth. Here the letters were produced, and every one's seal being recognized, they were convicted of treason by their own confession, and executed.* The principal noblemen were David Brechin, and William

* Of this conspiracy no other statement now exists, than that given by Buchanan, most probably derived from Boece. It has been objected to, as ill connected and improbable, because it cannot be supposed that *all* the barons should have been so much offended at the king's requisition; but, although all might not on their own account be so much offended, yet all might see the impropriety and impolicy of a requisition, by which so many were offended, and join in opposing it. And although the requisition was consonant to the custom of the age, yet Robert and his nobles stood in a very peculiar situation, for which there was no precedent, and to which the customs of the age did not apply.

Soulis, Gilbert Mayler, Richard Brown, and John Logie. There were besides, many of all ranks accused, but suspicions only appearing against them, they were dismissed. The execution of David Brechin, caused a deep sensation, for, besides being the son of the king's sister, he was esteemed the most chivalric youth of his age, and, in the crusade in Syria, had given illustrious proofs of his talents, both in the arts of peace and war. He was told of the conspiracy, but never assented to the treason, and his only crime was, that being made acquainted with so foul a machination, he did not reveal it. Roger Moubray having died before trial, his body was condemned to suffer ignominy, but the king remitted the punishment, and ordered it to be buried.

XLVII. Some months previous to this trial, the papal legates, who had come at the desire of the English to compose the differences between the kingdoms, when they could not accomplish their object, lest they should seem to their employers to have laboured in vain, thundered an excommunication against the Scots—a terrible weapon in those days—and laid the kingdom under an interdict forbidding the public performance of any divine service. Bruce, in order that the English might understand how little he was affected by the pope's imprecations in an unjust cause, collected an army, and treading almost in the footsteps of the departing legates, invaded England, and ravaged the country as far as the cross of Stanmore. The king of England, in return, not to allow such an insult to pass unrevenge, levied an army so numerous, that he promised himself an easy and a bloodless victory. But Robert, who thought it dangerous to stake his fortune, on a single battle, against the mighty preparations of so powerful a king, resolved to employ policy rather than force. Wherefore, having driven all the cattle into mountains inaccessible to an army, he ordered every thing else which might be useful to the enemy, to be carried to fortified places, or destroyed. * The English, who hastened forward in the hope of a battle, and had

* The orders of king Robert were so exactly obeyed, that it is said the only prey that fell into the hands of the English, was a lame bull, at Tranent, in East Lothian, and that earl Warren said, when the spoilers returned to the camp with it, "Is that all you have got? I never saw so dear a beast."

not prepared provisions for a long expedition, when they beheld the devastation of their country, inflamed with rage, hatred, and the desire of revenge, resolved to penetrate into the heart of Scotland, drag the king from his lurking places, and force him, however unwilling, to come to an engagement; for the magnitude of their force encouraged them to hope, that they would either wipe away the ignominy they had endured by a signal victory, or avenge the loss they had recently sustained by inflicting more extensive devastation. With this design Edward advanced to Edinburgh, spreading desolation on every side, and sparing only the sacred edifices. But the farther he advanced, the scarcity increasing, he was forced to retreat in less than five days. On his return, he spoiled every thing, sacred or profane, he burned the monasteries of Dryburgh and Melrose, and even murdered the infirm monks who remained behind, either through weakness, or trusting to their age for their protection. Bruce, as soon as he was informed that the English king, compelled by the scarcity of provisions, and having lost more men by disease than if he had been unsuccessful in battle, was hastening home, closely following with an army, more remarkable for its excellence than its numbers, carried the ravages of war as far as York. By a sudden attack, he had almost surprised the king himself in the monastery of Biland, on which occasion he was put to flight in an irregular engagement, and all his equipage, together with the royal treasures and warlike stores taken, John Briton, earl of Richmond, besides a number of inferior rank being made prisoners. In order to wipe away the disgrace of this infamous flight, Andrew Berkley, * earl of Carlisle, was soon after accused of having been bribed to betray the English, and was capitally punished for the cowardice of another.

XLVIII. Next year, a double embassy was sent from Scotland; one to the pope, to effect a reconciliation, he having been long estranged from the Scots, by the calumnies of the English; the other to renew the ancient league with France and both easily accomplished their objects. For the pontiff, when he understood that the late controversy had arisen from

* Berkley—should be Hartcla, earl of Carlisle.

the injustice of Edward I., who insisted, that the king of the Scots ought to obey the kings of England as a vassal, and, that the English could produce nothing in support of their claim, except old fables and recent injuries; that when in prosperity, if any appeal was made to the pope, they always declined his equitable decision, but in adversity humbly implored his assistance, while the Scots uniformly demanded that he should decide upon their cause, nor ever refused the cognizance of any legitimate tribunal, or the arbitration of upright men; besides which, the ambassadors having also produced many rescripts of former pontiffs in their favour, and against their adversaries, the pope appointed a day for both to attend, on which, the Scots being present, and the English, although summoned, not appearing, he was easily reconciled. Nor was it more difficult to obtain a renewal of the ancient league with France; and to the old articles it was added, that if any dispute should arise concerning the royal succession among the Scots, that controversy should be decided in a meeting of the estates, and whoever should be declared king by their legitimate suffrages, the French monarch engaged to support him by his authority and arms if necessary.

XLIX. Our writers date the rise of the Hamiltons, * now a flourishing family, about this time. A nobleman of that name, in the English court, speaking in high terms of the fortune and valour of Bruce, one of the Spencers, chamberlain to the king, either thinking the speech insulting to the English, or

* Chalmers gives the following account of the origin of the Hamilton family. "The Hamiltons of Scotland," he says, "derive their descent from an Anglo-Norman stock. Roger, and William, two younger sons of Robert, the third earl of Leicester, and the grandson of Robert, the first earl, who came over with the Conqueror, went to Scotland, in the reign of William the Lion, to whom they were related, by his mother, the countess Ada. Roger, who preceded his brother, was made chancellor of Scotland, in 1178, bishop of St. Andrews, in 1189, and died, in 1202. He was followed to Scotland, by his younger brother, William, who was surnamed de *Hambleton*, from the manor where he was born, in Buckinghamshire. William de Hambleton, who obtained lands in Scotland, married Mary, the daughter of Gilbert, the earl of Strathern, from whom he acquired a large estate; and from this union, sprung the Hamiltons, who became dukes of Hamilton, and other families of this distinguished name, in North-Britain." *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 585.

seeking to ingratiate himself more with the thoughtless part of the nobility, drew his dagger and wounded him slightly. He being a man of an high spirit, felt the indignity more than the hurt, but was prevented by a number of the courtiers present, who interposed, from then taking revenge. Next day, however, meeting his enemy accidentally in the same place, he slew him, and immediately, afraid of legal punishment, and the immoderate power of the Spencers at court, fled to Scotland, to king Robert, by whom he was kindly received, and had some lands near the river Clyde bestowed upon him. His posterity not long after, were ennobled, and the opulent family of the Hamiltons derive their surname from him. The name of Hamilton also, was attached to the lands he had received from the king. Not long after, Edward becoming involved in domestic broils, in which he put to death many of the principal nobility, and exalted the Spencers, the authors of these mischievous measures, higher than his own relations were able to brook, he was seized by his wife and son, who were supported by a small army from the Continent, and thrown into close confinement, where he came to a tormenting and shocking death, a hot iron being thrust into his anus, through a horn tube, and his bowels burned, so that no exterior sign of this matchless cruelty could be perceived. Nor was his son and wife believed to be guiltless, either because it was supposed his keepers would not have dared to commit such a deed so openly, unless they had had great authority, or because no inquiry was ever instituted into so nefarious a crime.

L. The unsettled state of England, and subsequent death of the king, and the infirmities of Bruce, now verging towards old age, preserved peace for some years between the neighbouring kingdoms. Bruce, being freed from any fear of the English, and admonished by his declining years, turned his attention to the arrangement of his domestic affairs, and first, he hastened to confirm the succession, by act of parliament, to his only son, still a boy, and in case of his death without children, he appointed Robert Stuart, his grandson by his daughter, as next heir, and caused the nobles to swear to observe this decree. Then, fearing lest after his death the

old dispute with Baliol about the crown might be renewed, especially as his heirs during their minority were exposed to every injury, he sent James Douglas to John Baliol in France, with large presents and promises, to induce him to yield up his claim to the kingdom. This he did not so much to acquire any new right—for, according to the custom of the Scots, whoever is declared king by the estates, who possess the supreme power in every thing, possesses the right—but, that he might relieve his children from the calumnies of the disaffected, and destroy every cause of sedition. Douglas found Baliol, surrounded with the miseries of extreme old age, much more compliant than was expected. He ingenuously confessed, that it was by his own fault he had been reduced from his rank, and driven as useless from the kingdom, therefore, he willingly consented that his kinsman Robert, should enjoy the crown, by whose consummate valour, singular felicity, and unexampled exertions, it had been restored to its ancient splendour, and he rejoiced that they by whom he had been deceived, did not enjoy the fruits of their perfidy.

LI. When Robert had finished these arrangements according to his wishes, in the same year, A. D. 1327, our historians inform us, that ambassadors were sent by Edward III. to Scotland, to negotiate, but appearing to act insidiously, they carried home war instead of peace. What particular fraud they attempted is not mentioned. The English writers affirm, that hostilities were commenced by Robert, without mentioning any cause, but it must have been some great and just one, which could so keenly have roused to arms a sickly old man, who had scarcely obtained tranquillity at home, and who might have been satiated not only with war, but with victory. It appears, however, that the king, enfeebled by age, did not personally conduct the campaign, Randolph and Douglas, the most consummate captains of their time, both for valour and prudence, were sent by him into England. They had twenty thousand light horse, without any foot, because it was intended they should scour the country without any incumbrance, not stopping long in one place, or coming to an engagement without absolute necessity, for they did not doubt but that the king of England would be able to meet them with

a far more numerous force than their own. Nor were they deceived, for besides his domestic troops, he had procured the assistance of a large body of horse from Flanders. But a quarrel having arisen between the allies at York, some English writers assert the foreigners were sent home. Froissart, a French cotemporary writer, affirms, that his countrymen accompanied the English in the whole expedition, and as a post of honour, or as a preservative against sedition, had the place in the camp next to the king's body guard always assigned to them.

LII. The king of England, having concentrated all his forces, amounting to above sixty thousand men, marched against the Scots, who he learned had already passed the Tyne. On the Tyne there are two fortified towns, the one, near Wales, Carlisle, the other fifty miles lower, named Newcastle, both of which were strongly fortified, to prevent any passage to an enemy; but the fords being known to the Scots, they crossed with so little noise, that they deceived both the garrisons. The English, having advanced to the bishopric of Durham, when they beheld, from the high grounds, the fires at a distance, first learned how near the enemy were, and tumultuously cried out to arms! Then, as if they were immediately to engage, because they saw the smoke of the burnings, having drawn up the army in three lines, they marched straight to the place, a severe punishment being denounced against any one who should leave his colours without orders. After fatiguing themselves in vain, at night they encamped in a wood near the river, and there left such baggage as impeded their movements. Next day, they marched in the same order, till the close of the evening, when they were forced to stop, in order to refresh their draught horses, and the foot. After their tents were pitched in a convenient situation, the nobles came to the king to deliberate how they might bring the Scots to an engagement. The greater part were of opinion, that it was impossible for the English infantry to overtake the Scottish light horse; nor, if they could, would it be possible to force the straggling plunderers to fight, unless in situations chosen by themselves. But as it did not appear practicable for them to remain long

in an hostile country, now so completely wasted, it seemed to be the best plan to pass to the other side of the Tyne with all their forces, and intercept the enemy on their return home; for the country beyond the Tyne was more level, and better adapted for drawing up an army, and there their whole strength might be brought into action.

LIII. This opinion being approved of, orders were issued for the men to refresh themselves as silently as possible, that they might hear the word of command, and the sound of the trumpet; to leave all their baggage behind, and each soldier only to carry a single loaf, as next day they were to engage the enemy at all events. Accordingly, when they had recovered from the fatigue of the former day, a little after midnight the signal was given, and they began their march in good order; but the marshes and hills through which they were led, soon forced them to break their ranks, and whoever was able took the lead, the rest following their track, but proceeding in such confusion, that many of the cavalry, and even carriage horses, stuck in the clay of the swamps, or were precipitated over the declivities; and often a cry of—to arms! was raised, when every one ran with great trepidation, and without order, to the place where the shout arose; but when they arrived in front, they discovered that the alarm was occasioned by the stags, who, roused by the tumult of men upon the heath, and startled at their appearance, ran about distractedly in large herds among the troops. At last, towards evening, the horse, without the foot, reached the fords of the Tyne, by which the Scots had crossed, and by which the English hoped they would return, and at sunset they passed over, the large and slippery rocks which the river had rolled down greatly annoying their horses. To their other disadvantages, this inconvenience was added, that few of them had any tools with which to fell wood; and they were obliged, after a march of twenty-eight miles, to lie down armed upon the bare ground, without tents, for they had brought none, without huts, and even without stakes to which they could fasten their horses. At daybreak next morning, the rain fell in such torrents, that the smallest rivulets became impassable, and, from some rustics, whom they seized by accident, they learned

that the neighbouring country was so sterile and uncultivated, that no provisions were to be procured nearer than Newcastle, or Carlisle, the one of which was twenty-four, and the other thirty miles distant. Thither, however, they sent messengers for supplies; and, in the mean time, they tore up shrubs and small trees to construct cots for themselves—with the leaves they fed their horses, whom they fastened to stakes which they had cut down with their swords. The second night they passed fasting. Upon the third day, those who had been sent to the towns, returned, and brought with them a little provision, and were followed by others, who, for the sake of gain, brought bread, indeed, and wine, but neither much nor good; yet such was the scarcity, that the soldiers quarrelled among themselves who should obtain it. In this state of famine, aggravated by continual rain, when they had passed seven days, their horse furniture soaked, and the backs of their horses ulcerated, themselves in wet clothes, and constantly armed day and night, without fire, being unable to kindle the green wood always moist with the rain, at last, on the eighth day, it was determined to repass the river at a more convenient ford, seven miles farther up. But there, also, the river being swollen with the rain, they were much harassed in crossing, and some were lost. As soon as the passage was effected, the king issued a proclamation, offering a large reward to the person who should first bring certain intelligence of the place where the Scots were. The two next days, when they marched through waste places, which had lately been destroyed by fire, they found fodder sufficient for their cattle, but little provision of any other kind.

LIV. At last, on the fourth day, one of fifteen young men, who had gone out to reconnoitre, brought intelligence that the Scots were about three miles distant, and had been, for the last eight days, as uncertain of the motions of the English army, as the English had been of theirs. This he affirmed as certain, as he had been taken by the Scots, and released without ransom, on condition that he would inform the king of England, that they would there await his coming, for they were not less desirous of the combat than he. On receiving this message, the king ordered the army to halt, that the men

and horses might partake of some refreshment, and prepare for a decisive battle; thence, in three divisions, he marched slowly towards the enemy. When the armies came within sight of each other, the Scots were drawn up in three lines on the declivity, in such a manner, as that their right and left were protected by precipices, whence they could overwhelm an approaching enemy with stones. At the foot of the hill, there was opposed to the English a rapid stream, so obstructed with huge broken rocks, that they could neither pass over to the enemy, nor, when passed, could they retreat without certain destruction. The English, when they perceived that they could not advance but under peculiar disadvantage, halted, and sent a herald to the Scots, desiring them to descend into the champaign country, and, upon equal ground, courageously contend for glory and empire. The Scots answered, they would not fight at the desire of an enemy but when they themselves chose; that they had marched into England to revenge the injuries they had received, and if what they had done offended them, they had an ample opportunity of revenge; that they would remain there as long as they found it convenient; and if any one disturbed them, they would take care that he should not do so with impunity.

LV. The three next days, the camps being near, and their out-posts stationed at the fords, slight skirmishes occasionally took place. On the fourth, at daybreak, the English sentinels reported, that the hill on which the Scots had encamped was deserted. Patroles were, therefore, immediately despatched to bring more certain information, and to follow the march of the retreating army, who quickly returned with intelligence, that the Scots had encamped on another much more secure hill, near a wood, which afforded them both a safe passage and retreat. The English, who expected that the Scots, as they declined fighting, would be destroyed by famine in a foreign country, disappointed in this hope, followed them, and pitched their camp on a hill opposite. After they had remained there some days, it being observed that they became more negligent in setting their night watches, either despising the small number of the enemy, or because they imagined they only meditated flight, Douglas, who omitted no opportunity

for attempting a daring adventure, crossed the river with two hundred chosen horsemen, and entering the enemy's camp, on that side where he understood it was most negligently guarded, penetrated to the king's tent, and there cutting two small cords, the alarm being given, he killed nearly three hundred English in his retreat, and brought off his own men safe. After this no memorable action occurred; but the English, admonished by their loss, placed more regular watches in proper situations. At last, it was told them by a Scottish prisoner, that an order had been issued in their camp, for all the troops to keep themselves in readiness at the third watch, to follow wherever Douglas should lead. This intelligence threw the English into such trepidation, that they formed into three lines separated from each other by a short space, and lay the whole of that night under arms; their servants kept their horses ready saddled in the camp, prepared for whatever should happen, and the stations at all the fords of the river were greatly re-enforced till daybreak appeared, when two Scottish trumpeters were brought to the king, who told him, that they were ordered to inform his majesty, that the Scots were on their return home, and the English, if they wished to revenge the loss they had sustained, were desired to follow. A council of war being held in consequence, they determined, that it was better, in present circumstances, to lead back the army, than to fatigue men and horses in a vain pursuit after predatory vagrants, especially, as in this expedition more had perished from hunger and disease, than usually fell in a fair engagement. A retreat having been resolved upon, many of the English, either induced by a desire of plundering what the Scots might have left in their nocturnal confusion, or of examining the situation of the enemy, proceeded to their camp, where they found about five hundred animals of the deer species, chiefly roebucks, of which kind, not only the kings of England but even private gentlemen, breed many; likewise huge cauldrons of raw hides for boiling their flesh in, and ten thousand pairs of brogues, also two Englishmen whose legs were broken, but still alive. All these circumstances, which indicated great poverty and patience in endur-

ing fatigue, clearly evinced the wisdom of their counsel who advised the army to desist from the pursuit.

LVI. This year died Walter Stuart, and queen Elizabeth, the one, the son-in-law, the other, the wife, of the king. The castles of Norham and Alnwick were unsuccessfully besieged, and Northumberland plundered. In the month of March, ambassadors sent from England to treat for a perpetual peace, concluded a truce for three years. Next year, 1328, on the 24th of June, an English Parliament was held at Northampton, by whom peace was concluded with the Scots upon the following terms:—That the king of England should give up every right which he or his ancestors had unjustly claimed to the Scottish crown; that he should leave that kingdom as free as it was at the death of Alexander III., and that it should be liable to no foreign servitude in future; that the Scots should deliver up to the English whatever lands they held any where in England in fee; that Cumberland and Northumberland, as far as Stanmore Cross, should be the boundaries of Scotland; that David, Robert's son, should take Joan, Edward's sister, to wife; that the English should return faithfully to the Scots all bonds, deeds, or agreements, or whatever monuments of servitude of any kind they had, and that they should be disannulled for the future; that the Scots, in consideration of the damages lately done to the king of England, and as a compensation for the estates which his father and grandfather had given to their subjects in Scotland, should pay thirty thousand silver marks. * Both kings had their individual reasons why they agreed so easily to these conditions. The king of England, having nearly exhausted his treasury in the late expedition, and by an ignominious retreat lessened himself both in the eyes of his subjects and his enemies, was afraid lest, if entangled in any civil commotion, a warlike enemy upon his borders,

* The renunciation of all superiority over Scotland by England, mentioned here as the first article of the treaty, seems to have been previously settled at a Parliament held by the English monarch at York, in February; and the peace concluded at Northampton, was between two independent sovereigns. The former instrument is preserved in Fordun, lib. xiii. cap. 12. Of the treaty no authentic copy exists. The import only, as above, is given in our historians.

elated by an unbroken current of success, might occasion immense mischief to his kingdom; and Robert, broken by age, toil, and disease—for a little before his death he was seized with a leprosy—and having experienced both extremes of fortune, had resolved not only to procure quiet for himself, if possible, but likewise to ensure tranquillity during the minority of his heir; and that having concluded peace abroad, he turned his attention wholly to the settlement of his domestic affairs.

LVII. After he had celebrated his son's nuptials magnificently, the king, who had some years before committed the management of all important business to Thomas Randolph and James Douglas, perceiving life draw to a close, retired to almost a private station, and lived in a small house at Cardross—a place separated from Dumbarton by the river Leven—secluded from all company, except when some case of necessity required. There, a little before his death, having assembled his friends, he made his will. By it he confirmed as his heirs, those who had been previously declared such by act of the estates—first, his son David, now in his eighth year, and in case of his decease, Robert Stuart, his grandson by his daughter—and commended them to the nobility, particularly to his nephew Randolph, and James Douglas. Then, having settled his domestic arrangements, he exhorted all the chiefs to preserve concord among themselves, and allegiance to their king; and affirmed, if they did so, they would be unconquerable by any foreign power. He is said, besides, to have added three precepts or advices:—Never to make one man lord of the whole *Æbudæ*; never to bring their whole force against the English at once, nor risk their fortune on the issue of one battle; nor ever to make long leagues with them. In illustrating his first advice, he dwelt much on the number, magnitude, and power, of the Islands; of the multitude, ferocity, and hardihood, of the inhabitants. They, in vessels of an awkward construction, indeed, but well adapted for these coasts, if brought against men almost wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs, might produce very extensive mischief, without suffering any material damage themselves. Thither, therefore, governors should be sent annually to administer justice, to whom this honour, however, should not

be long continued. His second advice, he founded upon this—That the English, who inhabit a better country than the Scots, exceed them in the number of men, in money, and, in fine, in all the *materiel* of war, and, therefore, on account of these advantages, are more accustomed to ease, and more impatient of fatigue; but the Scots, nurtured in a sterner soil, are by their parsimony and constant exercise rendered more healthy, and by the nature of their education better fitted to undergo military toil, and, therefore, better adapted for irregular skirmishes, wearing out the enemy by degrees, and breaking them by occasional attacks, than for meeting them at once in a pitched battle. He assigned, as the reason of his third advice—That if the Scots continued long at peace—as they had no other enemy besides the English on whom to exercise the arts of war—and gave themselves up to peaceable habits, luxury stealing in, would quickly produce sloth, and voluptuous indulgence, render them effeminate and unwarlike, while the English, although they were at peace with the Scots, yet had France for a neighbour, who would always keep their military habits in exercise, and if they, rendered expert in military affairs, should contend with the Scots become unskilful and unaccustomed to war, they might, with the greatest justice, expect a certain victory!

LVIII. He also recommended to James Douglas, the performance in his name, of a vow which he had made to go beyond seas; for he had vowed to proceed to Syria, and engage in the holy war, against the common enemy of Christianity; and since he, himself, either by the disturbed state of affairs at home, or broken with old age and disease, could not fulfil his intention, he earnestly besought Douglas to carry his heart, after he was dead, to Jerusalem, that it might be buried there.* Douglas, who considered this as the most honourable behest, and an illustrious mark of the king's affection, in the year fol-

* Perhaps this was one of the best, as it was among the last, marks Bruce gave of his most uncommon sagacity. He knew that men, with equal pretensions to power, can seldom live in harmony, if placed in high stations in the same country; and he wisely contrived to gratify the romantic valour of Douglas, by sending him on an idle, but honourable, errand, while he intrusted the government of the kingdom to the prudence of Randolph.

lowing his death, prepared for his journey, attended by a numerous train of young nobility. But as he coasted along the shores of Spain, having heard that the king of Arragon was engaged in a fierce war with the same enemy against whom he was going to fight in Syria, judging it of little importance in what country he aided the Christian cause, joined the Spaniards; and, after some successful engagements with the enemy, whom he despised as cowardly and weak, thinking to achieve some daring exploit with his own men only, he rashly attacked the army of the Saracens, and, being drawn into an ambush, was slain with the greater part of his followers. There perished of his particular friends, William Sinclair and Robert Logan.* This happened the year after the king's death, which was A. D. 1330.

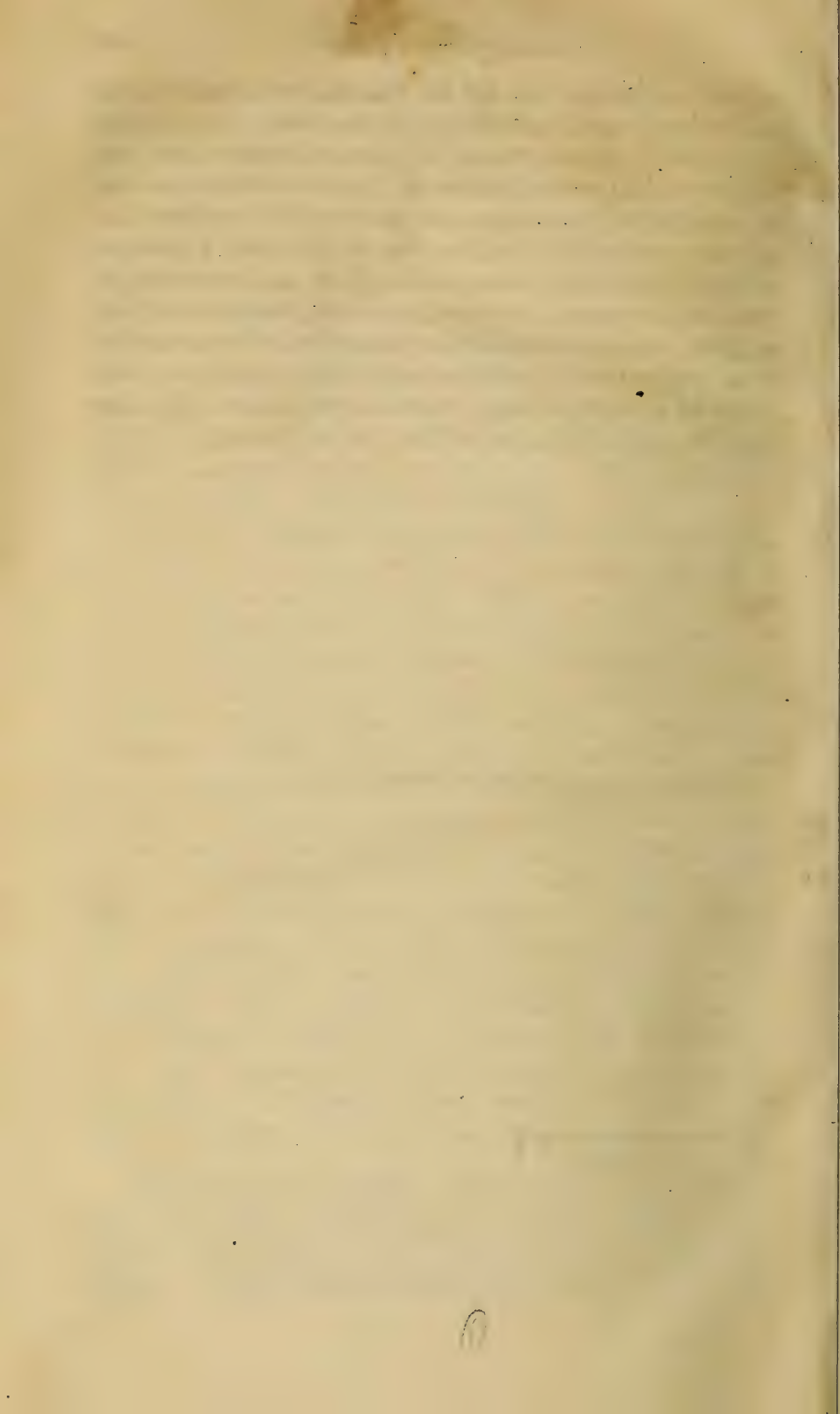
LIX. Robert Bruce, to express much in few words, was undoubtedly, in every point of view, a great man, and one to whom, from the heroic ages even to these times, we shall find few comparable in every species of virtue. As he was brave in war, so he was moderate in peace; and although unexpected success, and a constant flow of victory, after fortune was satiated, or rather fatigued with his sufferings, elevated him to the most splendid pinnacle of glory, yet, he appears to me far more admirable in adversity. What strength of mind did he display, when, assailed at once by so many misfortunes, he not only was not broken, but not even bent! Whose constancy would it not have shaken, to have had a wife captive, four heroic brothers cruelly murdered, his friends afflicted with every species of distress, they who escaped death robbed, and fugitives, and he himself, not only stripped of an ample patrimony, but of a kingdom, by the most powerful, active, and ablest prince of the age? Yet, beset with all these calamities at once, and reduced to the extremity of want, never did he despair, or do or say any thing unworthy of a king. He neither, like Cato the younger, nor Marcus Brutus, offered

* Sir William Sinclair of Roslin. It was in attempting to save him, that Douglas met his fate. His body, and the silver casket containing the heart of the Bruce, were recovered, and brought home. Douglas was interred in the church of Douglas, and was long remembered by his countrymen, as the good Sir James. The heart of Bruce was deposited at Melrose.

violence to himself, nor did he, like Marius, enraged by his misfortunes, wreak his vengeance on his enemies. But having recovered his pristine station, he behaved towards those who had caused him so much travail, as if he only remembered that he was now their sovereign, not that they had ever been his enemies; and at last, at the close of life, when a grievous distemper was added to the troubles of old age, he retained so much self-possession, that he arranged the present state of the kingdom, and consulted for the tranquillity of his posterity! With justice was his death lamented by his people, not only as that of an upright king, but of a loving father. He died July 9th, A. D. 1329, in the 24th year of his reign.

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